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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

JOHN TURNER MARSHALL.

IT is with deep regret that we have to record the death, at the age of 73 years, of the Reverend John Turner Marshall, M.A., D.D., which took place at his residence in Fallowfield, during the early hours of Saturday, the 23rd of June.

Dr. Marshall had been actively associated with the administration of the library since 1910, when he was appointed a Co-optative Governor in succession to the late Dr. Alexander Maclaren, and had won the affectionate regard of his colleagues, and of the officials, by each of whom his death is regarded as a personal loss.

Dr. Marshall was born at Farsley, in the heart of the West Riding, in 1850, and was educated for the Baptist ministry at Rawdon, Manchester, and Owens Colleges, after having been for a short time engaged in teaching. In 1870 he obtained the London degree of B.A., proceeding to that of M.A. in 1872. He entered the Baptist College in Manchester in 1875, attended classes at the Owens College, winning, in 1877, the Lee Greek Testament Prize. About this time he was appointed classical tutor of his college, and for twenty-four years he boldly attacked a syllabus of subjects that should properly have been undertaken by several tutors. His versatility was remarkable : languages ancient and modern, logic, philosophy, ecclesiastical history and mathematics, were all taught by him with exemplary thoroughness, and in 1898 he was rewarded for his loyalty and devotion to the college by being made Principal, a position which he filled until 1920. After his retirement from the Principalship he continued to lecture on Biblical languages down to the time of his death ; consequently his active association with the college extended altogether over forty-five years.

Dr. Marshall's sphere of influence extended far beyond the college with which for so many years he had been identified. He was

not only a good teacher, but a good preacher, and a man of wonderful energy, whose sympathetic nature and kindness of heart had won for him such a widespread affection, that the church to which he belonged honoured him by conferring upon him the highest distinctions which were in its power to bestow. In 1892-3 he was elected Moderator of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, and in 1909 President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. This denominational recognition of Dr. Marshall as a scholar and leader of whom the Baptist Churches had reason to be proud, was a source of gratification to his numerous friends both inside and outside the denomination.

Dr. Marshall was the senior member of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Manchester, which he served as Dean for two years, in 1915-16. On his retirement from the position of Principal of the Baptist College, the University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, a distinction which he greatly prized.

Dr. Marshall's contributions to theological literature were numerous. His commentaries on *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*, and his essays on the *Apocrypha*, won for him recognition as a scholar. To Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* he contributed a number of articles, and he wrote for the *Expositor* a series of papers to show that the divergencies of the synoptic gospels are in many cases due to a variant translation of a common Aramaic original. His life was full of service, and he laboured to the last. At the time of his death he was actively engaged in preparing for the press a piece of scholarly investigation, which had occupied the intervals between official claims upon his time for many years, and which consists of a collection of the Aramaic quotations which are to be found in the Talmud.

THOMAS THORNHILL SHANN.

The Library has sustained a further loss through the death of Sir Thomas Thornhill Shann, J.P., which occurred at his residence at Formby, on Sunday, the 15th of July, after a long illness.

For fourteen years Sir Thomas had been associated with the library as a Representative Governor, appointed by the Manchester City Council, in succession to Alderman Joseph Thompson. Since 1914 he has filled the office of Honorary Treasurer, and in 1915 he was made a Trustee.

Sir Thomas Shann was born in Manchester in 1846, where he lived and worked throughout a long and strenuous life. He was essentially a Manchester man, and in the scope and power of his public service he appeared to express something of the greatness of the city which he regarded with so much love and pride. In his journey through life, from the humble place of his birth in Ancoats, to the position of Lord Mayor and chief magistrate of his native city, he ran through the whole gamut of service which such a city provides, and there have been few important movements in Manchester during the last half-century, in which he failed to play the part of a distinguished citizen. He was a shining example of what may be accomplished by indomitable perseverance. He started life at a very early age, and when but twenty-two years old he commenced business on his own account, and laid the foundations of the important grey cloth agency with which he was associated up to within a short time of his death.

His municipal work began in 1897, when he entered the City Council, and it speaks eloquently of the esteem in which he was held, that after only six years of service in the Council he was elected Lord Mayor of the City. He proved so acceptable a chief magistrate that he was invited to serve the office for a second term, and it was during his second year of office that King Edward and Queen Alexandra visited Manchester, on the occasion of the opening of No. 9 Dock of the Ship Canal, and conferred upon him the dignity of knighthood.

As a Councillor Sir Thomas did excellent work on various committees, and during his period of Lord Mayoralty, he accomplished something which will never be forgotten in cotton-trade circles, for by his tact he prevented the calamity of a great cotton war.

He will best be remembered for his chairmanship of the Education Committee, a position which he occupied for fifteen years and down to the time of his death. He was endowed with the gift of sound common sense, coupled with great foresight, and possessing as he did a knowledge of the exact needs of the city's children, gained largely from his own early experiences in life, he was able to direct the policy of the Committee in such a way that the needs of the children were met. He will also be remembered for the vigorous policy of licensing reform, which as their chairman for many years, he induced the Manchester Licensing Magistrates to pursue.

CHARLES EDWIN VAUGHAN.

We are glad to be able to supplement the brief memorial notice of Dr. Vaughan, which appeared in our last issue, with an exhaustive list of Dr. Vaughan's writings, including his numerous contributions to periodical literature, which Professor H. B. Charlton has been at considerable pains to compile, and to which he has prefixed an appreciation of the Doctor, which comes appropriately from the pen of one who was intimately associated with him, first as pupil, and later as colleague. A recent portrait of Dr. Vaughan accompanies Professor Charlton's article.

NEWLY APPOINTED GOVERNOR

Mr. H. Bompas Smith, M.A., M.Ed., Professor of Education, and Director of the Department of Education in the University of Manchester, has been appointed a Representative Governor, in succession to the late Dr. Vaughan.

THE NEW CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIV. OF MANCHESTER.

The unopposed election of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, P.C., K.T., LL.D., F.S.A., etc., to the office of Chancellor of the University of Manchester, in succession to Viscount Morley of Blackburn, has given great satisfaction to his Co-Trustees and Governors of the John Rylands Library as well as to the County of Lancashire generally. It is a matter for congratulation to the University that no other effective nomination for the office was made, proving as it did, that Lord Crawford's consent to accept nomination was welcomed by the entire body of members of Convocation.

At the meeting of Convocation at which the election of the new Chancellor was declared, it was pointed out that although minute instructions were laid down in the ordinances of the University for the election of Chancellor, not a word was said about his duties after election. There were unwritten duties, however, which like unwritten laws were often more important than those meticulously inscribed.

In the first place the Chancellor was the head of the University, and the University, like an individual, was often judged by its head, the more so as the University had the privilege of choosing its own. It was essential, therefore, that the choice should fall on a man of commanding position. He must be a man of public affairs, who had

taken a high position in the councils of the nation, as the University at times required help in high places. As the head of the University, and as its fount of honour, he must have a high academic or scholarly reputation himself. Added to this, it was desirable, if possible, that the Chancellor should have some local connection with the city or county.

Lord Crawford, more than fulfils all these requirements. Premier Earl of Scotland, head of one of the oldest Lancashire families, sitting in the House of Lords as Baron Wigan, he has dedicated his life to public service, and by his own industry and intellect has placed himself in the front rank of our national leaders. At Oxford he took an honours degree, but a still greater distinction was his, when his fellow under-graduates elected him to the highest position in their gift, that of President of the Union. Entering Parliament, he passed through the hurly-burly of party politics, taking his seat as member for the Chorley Division of Lancashire. Called to higher statesmanship he filled the positions of First Commissioner of Works, and Junior Lord of the Treasury, passing later to several offices of Cabinet rank, as President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, Lord Privy Seal, the last being appropriately Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Moreover Lord Crawford is actively interested in art and literature. He is a Trustee of the National Gallery, and of the National Portrait Gallery, is the author of the standard monograph on "Donatello," and of an equally interesting and trustworthy work on "The Evolution of Italian Sculpture." His interest in libraries is very real, for not only is he one of the Trustees of the John Rylands Library, but he is himself the owner of one of the few surviving great private libraries in the country. The "Bibliotheca Lindesiana" which is housed at Haigh Hall, near Wigan, whose manuscripts passed into the custody of the John Rylands Library in 1901, is still noteworthy by reason of its extremely rich collection of printed books, the catalogue of which, printed a few years since, fills four folio volumes, consisting of nearly five thousand pages. Much could be said of its remarkable collections of Papal Bulls, Proclamations and Broadsides, English and Scottish Ballads, Civil War Tracts, Lutheran Tracts, De Bry's Voyages, Incunabula, Early examples of the Scottish Presses, French Revolutionary Newspapers, Napoleoniana, Mazarinades, and others too numerous to mention, but this is not the place.

We wish Lord Crawford a long tenure of the high office to which he has been called.

The installation of the new Chancellor will take place in the month of November.

SHAKESPEARE'S "FIRST FOLIO" 1623-1923.

When, in 1916, we commemorated the three-hundredth anniversary of the death of Shakespeare, the commemoration was almost completely overshadowed by the Great War.

The present year, which marks the three-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the "First-Folio," or first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, offers a happier occasion for such a special act of homage to the greatest of our poets; and we are glad to note that it is being observed throughout the Empire as well as in America and in many foreign countries.

The actual date of publication cannot be determined, but it must have been towards the end of 1623, and not earlier than the month of November, since it was on the 8th day of that month that sixteen of the hitherto unpublished plays were entered by the publishers, at Stationers' Hall.

Our own commemoration of the event, takes the form of "A Brief Summary of the History of the Publication of the First-Folio," which appears elsewhere in the present number. It makes no claim to originality. It has been drawn from the writings of the recognised authorities in Shakespearean research, foremost among which are Professor A. W. Pollard, and Sir Sidney Lee, in the belief that some of our readers may be glad to have a plain straightforward summary of this fascinating chapter in the history of our literature.

We have also signalised the event by reviving the exhibition which was first arranged in 1916, to commemorate the death of Shakespeare. The object we had in view was to show the unfolding of Shakespeare's mind as it is revealed in his works; and this we sought to accomplish by exhibiting, not only such of the original and early editions of the poet's own writings, as the library contains, but the "principal sources which he employed in their composition." As a result we have been able to bring together, from the library shelves, copies of the actual editions of the principal works which Shakespeare undoubtedly had around him, since they are the works

from which he drew the foundation plots and other material employed by him in the composition of his own plays.

We have not issued any special catalogue, but copies of the Exhibition Catalogue, published in 1916, are still obtainable (Price one shilling). It is a fully annotated list of the works exhibited, preceded by "A brief sketch of the life and times of Shakespeare," and "A Chronological table of the principal events in the life and times of Shakespeare"; and is furnished with a list of works for the study of Shakespeare, together with sixteen facsimiles of some of the rarer items exhibited.

The exhibition will remain on view until the end of the year.

MUSIC IN SHAKESPEARE'S DAY.

The present year also marks the tercentenary of the death of three of England's leading composers: William Byrd, whose sacred choral music is among the chief glories of the Elizabethan age; Philip Rosseter, the lutenist and song-writer; and Thomas Weelkes, the madrigalist.

The most famous of the three was William Byrd, whose death occurred on the 4th July, 1623. He has been aptly styled "The English Palestrina," and his church music will soon be accessible, owing to the munificence of The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, one volume having already appeared from the Oxford Press, to be followed by two others. The *Times* in reviewing this publication refers to it as representing, at last, the opportunity of putting in his rightful place, one of the greatest of composers, not only of his age and country, but of the world. His secular works have been edited already by Canon Fellowes, Mus.D., of Windsor, and form Vols. 14 and 16 of the "English Madrigal School" (Stainer and Bell).

We have thought it appropriate to mark the occasion, by making an attempt to trace the significance of music in Shakespeare's writings, and we are indebted to our colleague Mr. W. W. Roberts for the interesting article, dealing with that subject, which appears elsewhere in the present issue.

A NEW CHRISTIAN APOLOGY.

In the present issue Dr. Rendel Harris makes another of his identifications in the region of lost literature connected with the early Christian Church.

As one of the results of his recent visit to Mount Sinai he has come upon what he conceives to be a hitherto unknown

Apology, probably of the second century, incorporated in the fictitious story of the Martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai.

This newest achievement of Dr. Harris follows in a curious way upon an earlier discovery in which he also played an important part, resulting in the recovery of the lost "Apology of Aristides," which was recited before one of the Roman emperors by an Athenian philosopher, probably during one of the Imperial visits to the East. This was first found in a Syriac manuscript in the Convent on Mount Sinai, and afterwards was recognised by Dr. Armitage Robinson, embedded in the Christian novel, which went under the title of "The History of Barlaam and Joasaph," but since those discoveries were made, portions of the Greek text of the Apology itself, not borrowed by a novel writer, have been coming to light among the papyri exhumed from the ruins of Oxyrhynchus. Dr. Harris is of opinion that the novel was produced at the Monastery of St. Saba, not far from Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, and on the same supposition the author was the famous saint and great Christian philosopher, John of Damascus, who belonged to the eighth century. He was, therefore, very nearly the first Christian novelist. Upon the shelves of the Convent of St. Saba the novelist must have found one of the great Christian defences, and made great artistic use of it.

This suggested to Dr. Harris the possibility that some other apology might have been similarly used, and his investigations have led him to the conclusion, that the story of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine was drawn upon the same lines as that of Barlaam and Joasaph. In both stories the saints were found engaged in the vindication of the faith before an Imperial Assize, in a ring of philosophic opponents who were finally confuted in the very same way.

Not satisfied with this new and startling recovery, the same diligent excavator has been digging out still another lost piece of early Christian literature, consisting of a Discourse on Perfection according to the Saviour, possibly by Tatian. This will appear in the January issue of the "BULLETIN."

LIBRARY LECTURES.

The syllabus of lectures which is being arranged for the ensuing session is not yet complete, and we are therefore unable to print the full list.

The following are the arrangements which have been completed, up to the time of going to press.

EVENING LECTURES.

Wednesday, 10th October. "Under Hannibal's Shadow." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th November. "Moses and the Origin of the Religion of Israel." By A. S. Peake, M.A., M.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th December. "A Discourse (of Tatian?) on Perfection according to the Saviour." By J. Rendel Harris, D.Litt., LL.D., D.Theol., etc., Curator of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

Wednesday, 9th January, 1924. [Title of Lecture not yet fixed.] By T. F. Tout, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th February, 1924. "Some Monuments of the Great Persecution." W. M. Calder, M.A., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

AFTERNOON LECTURE.

On Tuesday, 15th October, Dr. Rendel Harris has consented to give another illustrated address on his visit to Mount Sinai which may be described as "Further Illustrations from the Sinai Peninsula."

The full syllabus of lectures will be printed, and ready for circulation, probably by the time this number is in distribution.

LOUVAIN LIBRARY.

The reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain was carried a stage further on the 17th of July, when the first wing of the new building, overlooking the Place du Peuple, which is taking the place of the one destroyed in August, 1914, was inaugurated with great solemnity. Cardinal Mercier, who is the Président du Conseil d'Administration de l'Université blessed the new building, and delivered the inaugural address, in which he paid a warm tribute to the American Committee for its generous help towards the reconstruction. The Duke of Brabant was also present and placed on the shelves the first book, a volume which was dedicated to the

memory of the students of 1914, who laid down their lives for their country.

Gifts of books, for the equipment of the new library continue to reach us, and we are at the present moment actually engaged in making ready for shipment a further consignment of books, comprising 1366 volumes.

During the six months which have elapsed since the publication of our last issue, the following contributions have been received ; and we take this opportunity for renewing our thanks to the respective donors, who by their generous help have enabled us to obtain such very encouraging results.

(The figures in Brackets represent the number of Volumes included in the respective gifts.)

Alcuin Club.	(3)
Bibliographical Society.	(53)
Canterbury and York Society.	(6)
G. W. Dixon, Esq., Heaton Moor.	(1)
Durham University Library.	(11)
Miss J. Gowan, Cullen.	(1)
H. Guppy, Manchester.	(3)
The Governors of the John Rylands Library.	(5)
J. Lovett, Esq., Leek.	(1)
Mrs. E. C. Robichaud, Dornoch.	(96)

The list is still open, and we shall welcome further offers of suitable works, so that the ultimate total of the British gift, which to-day is represented by the substantial collection of 43,610 volumes, may be raised to the round figure of 50,000.

Amongst recent gifts to the library is a collection of news and other literary cuttings, filling thirty folio volumes, relating to the movement for women's suffrage from the year 1910 onwards, which has been presented to the library by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, through the courtesy of the Parliamentary Secretary, Mrs. Hubback. WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Accompanying this collection, are sets of the following periodical publications, which have been issued from time to time in furtherance

of the women's suffrage cause: "Votes for Women," "Women's Franchise," "The New Statesman," "The Suffragette," "The Vote," and "The Common Cause."

This is a most welcome addition to the resources of the library, furnishing as it does first-hand information upon this great national movement, which will be of incalculable value to any student in the future, who may wish to make a study of the subject.

MOROCCAN STUDIES.

In the list of the numerous periodicals that have lately appeared in connection with Islam, or the history of the Islamic countries the new quarterly "Hespéris" which is in its third year of publication, and is the "Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines à Rabat," is in its sphere one of the best. It deals exclusively with Morocco, and to judge from the second volume, pp. 1-504 (1922) exclusively with Muslim Morocco. All the writers contributing to this issue are well qualified for their task, and what they tell us in their particular field is very instructive. Especially interesting is the article "Justice berbère au Maroc Centrale," by H. Bruno, and "Technique des poteries rifaines," by J. Herber. In the series of the miscellaneous communications the "Notes sur la thérapeutique indigène dans le Sud Marocain," is highly amusing and interesting. Of articles of permanent value, the series "Chillo," by H. Bosset, and Lévi-Provençal deserves special mention, and the "Actes du IIIe Congrès de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines" contain a full list of all modern works dealing with Morocco.

COMMITTEE FOR PROMOTING RESEARCH ON THE CONTINENT.

We commend to the sympathetic consideration of our readers the following appeal: "The untoward financial conditions in Europe have interrupted a number of investigations and publications of importance. It would be a great gain to scholarship if these researches could be resumed and prosecuted to a successful finish. While a number of relief committees have been actively rendering material assistance to scholars suffering from the economic upheaval, no organised effort has yet been made to come to the aid of research. It is felt that the time has come to render such assistance to scholarship; and with this end in view a committee has been formed to obtain money, primarily for procuring photographs of manuscript material

and, in exceptional cases, for journeys to foreign libraries. This assistance is to be rendered, irrespective of creed or country, to any needy scholar of merit whose application satisfies the Executive Committee. This Committee, upon whom will devolve the task of selecting candidates and distributing funds, will be an international body sitting in Rome."

"Your support and co-operation are earnestly solicited."

The signatories of the appeal are :—

Professor C. H. BEESON, University of Chicago.
Professor G. L. BURR, Cornell University.
Dr. A. E. COWLEY, Bodley's Librarian, Oxford.
Cardinal F. EHRLE, Former Prefect, Vatican Library.
Cardinal A. GASQUET, Head of the Vulgate Commission.
Senatore Professor I. GUIDI, University of Rome.
Dr. F. J. JENKINSON, University Librarian, Cambridge.
Sir FREDERICK KENYON, Director, British Museum.
Dr. G. MERCATI, Prefect, Vatican Library.
Professor H. PIRENNE, University of Ghent.
Professor E. K. RAND, Harvard University.

Contributions will be received and acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer (Dr. E. A. Lowe, Oxford University).

THE NEXT ISSUE.

Our next issue, which will appear in January, will contain amongst other contributions, the following : "Conflicting Tendencies in Fourteenth Century Administration," by Professor T. F. Tout ; "Milton and Dante," by Professor C. H. Herford ; "Discourse (of Tatian ?) on Perfection according to the Saviour," by Dr. Rendel Harris ; the Fourth and concluding part of Mr. H. C. Hoskier's "Recent Investigations in the Manuscripts of the Apocalypse."

PHILADELPHIA AND MONTANISM.[1]

By W. M. CALDER, M.A.

LECTURER IN CHRISTIAN EPIGRAPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

I.

ALL serious discussion of the problems of Early-Christian Epigraphy must begin with a reference to Constantine. For it was after the victory of Constantine in A.D. 312, or rather, if we are thinking of the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, after the final defeat of Licinius in A.D. 323, that Christianity became, for the first time, a legal religion. During the preceding two and a half centuries, the life of every individual member of the Church was forfeit; *non licet esse vos*. This, of course, is an accurate statement only of the legal position; in practice, the Christians generally went unmolested. It was only when 'the panic of a populace, or the bigotry of a magistrate, or the malice of some influential personage'—above all, when the deliberate policy of an individual emperor—'awoke it into activity,'[2] that persecution fell on the Church. Over long periods, and in many districts where the Christians were in a majority or commanded influence, the individual Christian was not interfered with so long as his conduct did not challenge attention. But the machinery of persecution was always at the disposal of those who could show good cause why it should be set in motion. And,

[1] My best thanks are due to my friend Professor A. S. Peake, who has not only helped me with much searching criticism of the original draft of the Rylands Library lecture (13 December, 1922) which formed the basis of this paper, but allowed me to read and to profit by his unpublished Ellerton Prize Essay on Montanism (1890). He has, however, no responsibility for the views put forward in these pages. My obligations, on the archæological side to Ramsay, Cumont, Anderson, and Mendel, and on the literary side to Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* will be obvious to all who are acquainted with recent work in this field.

[2] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II., i., p. 17.

the machinery once set in motion, the law had to take its course. That the Church paid the full price of adherence to its faith, the numberless martyrdoms of those centuries testify. But the *Acta Martyrum* present a very one-sided picture of the relations of the early Christians with the Roman State. If the bolder spirits, when challenged—or even on challenge given—were ready to go to the stake or to the arena for their principles, both they and the great majority usually took pains to avoid the challenge. And so we find that Constantine's legalisation of Christianity led to an immediate change of character in the commonest class of public monuments used by the early Christians, the tombstones which they prepared for their own graves or erected over the graves of their dead. In the Christian epitaphs of the pre-Constantinian period,[1] we find a universal avoidance of any overt avowal of Christianity which would attract the notice of, or give a handle to, the hostile pagan. Indeed, the vast majority of the Christian epitaphs of this period are undistinguishable among the mass of pagan epitaphs. The principle laid down in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (§ 4): 'For this cause, therefore, brethren, we praise not those who deliver themselves up, since the Gospel doth not so teach us' gives pithy expression to the practice of pre-Constantinian Christians all over the Roman Empire, as we find it exemplified in their epitaphs. After Christianity was declared legal, open profession of religion became fashionable, and the various formulæ and symbols used on Christian tombstones in the post-Nicene period have formed the subject of much study.

It is well known that pre-Constantinian Christian epitaphs, recognisable as Christian, are found in considerable numbers only in two places, in the Roman Catacombs and in Asia Minor, especially in Phrygia. In the Catacombs, History and Archæology, working hand in hand, have traced Christian burials as far back as the end of the first century; in Phrygia, inscriptions identifiable as Christian begin to appear at the end of the second century. The New Testament, the Letters of Ignatius, the story of Polycarp and the history of Phrygian Montanism bear witness to the numerous Asian Christians who died and were buried long before this date; the epitaphs of many of these

[1] I speak of those which were dedicated openly for all to see. In this respect, as in many others, the epitaphs of the Roman Catacombs form a class by themselves.

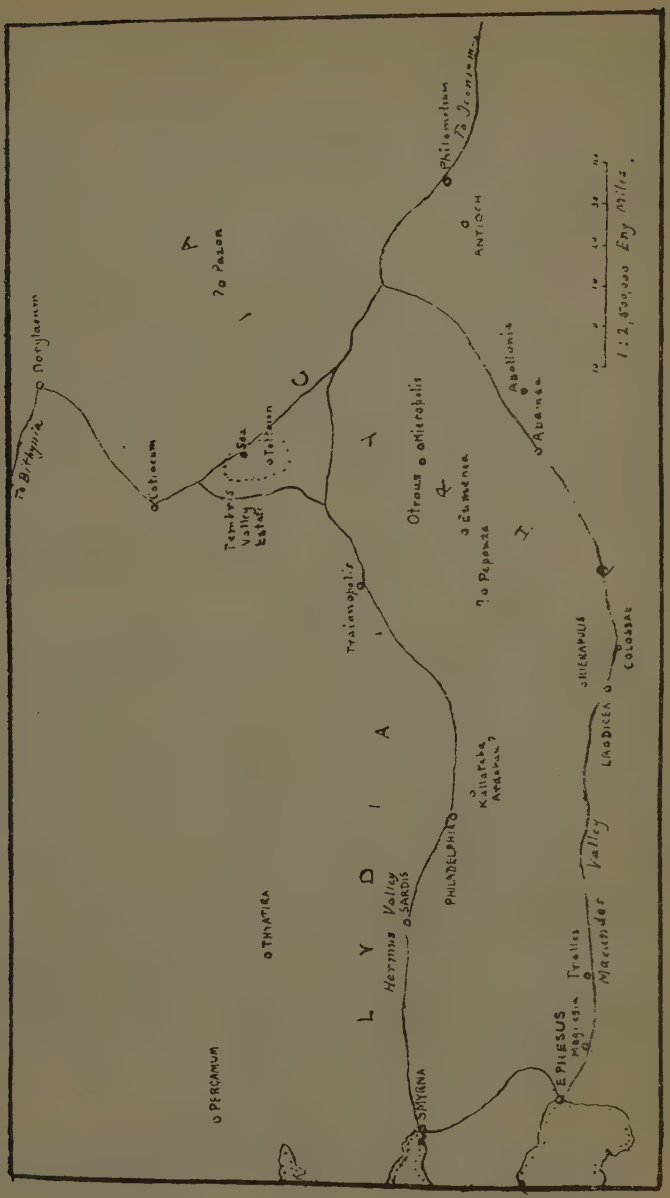


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP TO ILLUSTRATE EARLY MONTANIST HISTORY.

Christians are in our hands ; but we cannot recognise them. Sepulchral custom changes slowly, and it was only gradually that the Asian Christians adopted the use of formulæ which differed from those used by their pagan neighbours. In the third century, criteria by which we can distinguish Christian from pagan epitaphs begin to emerge. The character of these criteria is of interest as illustrating the attitude of the early Christians in Phrygia to pagan society and to the Roman government, and their discovery is sufficiently recent to merit a brief notice. In the eighties and nineties of last century, mainly through the enterprise of Ramsay and his English and American companions, and of the French School at Athens, Phrygia was for the first time exhaustively explored, and a rich harvest of Roman Imperial inscriptions was gathered in, the great majority being, of course, epitaphs. Interest in the early Christianity of this region was aroused by Ramsay's discovery, in 1881, at Hieropolis in the Phrygian Pentapolis, of an inscription dated A.D. 216, which begins with the words :—

> ' Citizen of a select city, I have, while still living, made this tomb, that my body may here have a resting-place before the eyes of men.' [1]

When this inscription was published, Mm. Di Rossi and Duchesne at once recognised that it had been copied from the epitaph of St. Abercius of ' Hierapolis ' preserved in the *Life* of the Saint, which opens with the same words, that it proved that epitaph to be genuine, and that it was itself Christian. In 1883 Ramsay and Sterrett were fortunate enough to find, also at Hieropolis, a fragment of the very epitaph which had been preserved in the *Life of Avircius Marcellus*.[2] As Avircius was still living in A.D. 192, when the anti-Montanist tractate preserved in Eusebius was addressed to him,[3] and as his epitaph had been set up and copied in another epitaph before A.D. 216, the date of the dedication of his monument is fixed with certainty within a few years of A.D. 200. Here was a starting-point for the chronological arrangement of the early-Christian inscriptions of

[1] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 720.

> Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολείτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
> ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω φανερῶς σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.

[2] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 722. In l. 5, I read πάντη ὁρόωντας, for reasons to be stated in the article referred to below, p. 321 note 4.

[3] *H.E.*, V., 16, 3.

Phrygia ; a series of dated monuments marked out further stages along the road ; and Ramsay and Duchesne, working independently and both following the methods of classification which had been so successfully applied by Di Rossi and Le Blant to the Christian Epigraphy of Italy and of Gaul, came to practically identical conclusions as to the criteria by which Christian inscriptions in Phrygia are to be identified and classified.[1] The result has been to throw a flood of light on the primitive Christianity of this region, and to arouse interest in the Christian archæology of Asia Minor generally.

Some of the criteria discovered by Ramsay and Duchesne are relevant to the purpose I have in view in this lecture, and it is necessary to describe them briefly. The Phrygians, as is well known, attached the greatest importance to the housing and tendance of the dead, for the sepulchre played a central part in their religion. The grave was popularly known as the 'house' of the dead, and elaborate precautions were taken to safeguard the dead in the rightful possession of their property. Hence the custom grew up, apparently under legal sanction, of prescribing penalties for any infringement of the rights of the owners of the tomb ; these penalties were made payable to the Roman *Fiscus*, or to a city or corporation or to any individual who should prosecute or give information leading to a prosecution. Epitaphs drafted in this form had the character of testamentary dispositions, and copies of them were preserved in the city archives.[2] The stock formula is : 'If anyone disturbs this grave or buries an alien corpse in it, he shall pay a fine of so much to so and so'.[3]

But another, and more archaic type of formula used for the protection of tombs simply invoked the wrath of Heaven on the wrongdoer. Such *devotiones* are very common on the pagan tombstones of Asia Minor ; they were used almost to the exclusion of the 'fine-formulæ' in the country districts (where, in the later third century, they were often expressed in the Phrygian language), and they also appear frequently in city epitaphs. They invoke the wrath either of the gods in general, or of a particular group of gods, or of the gods or god of the locality. Examples of such *devotiones* are : (*The violator of the*

[1] Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 400 ; Duchesne, *Rev. Quest. Hist.*, 1883, p. 25.

[2] See, e.g., the inscription of Thyatira discussed below, p. 347.

[3] See No. 13 below.

grave) ἔξει τοὺς θεοὺς ἐναντίους ; ἔξει τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς καὶ καταγείους κεχολωμένους ; ἔστω ἱερόσυλος θεοῖς οὐρανίοις καὶ καταχθονίοις ; ἔσται ἠσεβηκὼς εἴς τε τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὴν Σελήνην καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ; ὕποχος ἔστω Μηνὶ καὶ Λητῷ ; ἁμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς ; θεῶν Πισιδικῶν κεχολωμένων τύχοιτο (in Pisidia) ; ἔχι (= ἔχοι) τὴν Σελήνην κεχολωμένην ;[1] the list could be greatly extended. From these examples, for a reason which will appear presently, I have separated two instances of a grammatical construction which is very rare in pagan use : ἔστι αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἥλλιων (= Ἥλιον) κὲ Σελήνην (Lycia)[2] and (ἐκτείσει τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Τερμησσέων (δηνάρια) μ΄) καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατοιχομένους, 'he shall have to deal also with the spirits of the dead' (Pisidia).[3]

A formula closely resembling the two last, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, occurs over and over again on third-century inscriptions of central Phrygia. It is obvious that none of the pagan *devotiones* I have quoted, which themselves are typical of a very large number of similar formulæ, could be used by a Christian ; it is equally obvious that the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν could give no possible offence to a pagan, who would see in it a reference to the god of the locality, whom he himself was wont to honour simply as θεός in dedications. If this central Phrygian formula stood alone, it would be hazardous to treat it as Christian rather than as pagan ; but when we find it varied as ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν in an inscription of Eumeneia[4] we begin to wonder whether we are not in touch with Christian sentiment. This suspicion is raised to a certainty by still another variation of the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τον ✱ ;[5] the last symbol, for the Christians, was the monogram of Jesus Christ, although it was easy for the unsuspecting or indifferent pagan to confuse it with ✱ an abbreviation of χρεοφύλαξ which was in pagan use.[6] Still

[1] I take those examples from Stemler's list in *Griech. Grabinschr. Kleinasiens*, p. 70 f., where references are given.

[2] Stemler, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[3] Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II., p. 218, no. 170.

[4] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 514.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 526.

[6] Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, II., p. 219, no. 173, where the testator ἐσημιώσατο ἐπὶ τοῦ ✱ ὅτι . . . (there follow regulations for the use of a tomb).

further variations of this formula emphasise its Christian character even more strongly ; although probably not one of them is so exclusively Christian that it could not be used by a pious pagan : e.g. *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον θεόν, πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν θεόν, πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ*, etc.[1] A second formula, which takes the place of the Central Phrygian formula further to the east, is *δώσει λόγον θεῷ* 'he shall account to God' ; at Philomelium this formula is used with the addition *τῷ μέλλοντι κρείνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*, whose Christian character is guaranteed by an inscription of Iconium.[2] The case for treating these formulæ as a sign of Christianity is already strong ; but when we further observe that many of the inscriptions using them betray Christian influence in their use of family names, and that none of these inscriptions show any trace of pagan religious feeling, we are entitled to claim a verdict. In short, the Christian origin of a large series of third-century epitaphs in central Phrygia is definitely established ; in the chain of reasoning which led Ramsay and Duchesne to the identification of these epitaphs, no weak link has been revealed by subsequent discovery, and the results secured by them form a solid foundation for further work.

I have thought it worth while to describe the discovery and identification of these Christian monuments at some length, because only by doing so could I indicate how slight are the marks which differentiate them from pagan monuments, and how unlikely they are to have challenged the hostility or even the attention of contemporary pagans. This character was not undesigned. The Christian of set purpose avoided any open expression which would attract the notice of a potential accuser. Such conduct on the side of the Christians finds its counterpart in the normal attitude of the Roman government, as expressed in Trajan's letter to Pliny : 'They (the Christians) are not to be sought out ; but if accused and convicted they must be punished, unless they recant. Anonymous accusations, however, cannot be entertained.' Clearly the Roman government did not, as a rule, desire massacres of Christians ; the Christians, on their part, took pains not to give offence.

[1] See Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 514 ff.

[2] Published by the writer in *Rev. de Phil.*, 1912, p. 68 : *π]άσχῃ π[ρὸς τ]ο[ὺ ἐ]ρχομ[έν]ο[υ] κρίνι[ν ζῶντας] καὶ [νεκρούς*. Cf. the inscription of Thyatira, p. 347 below.

Ramsay[1] and Cumont[2] have commented on a characteristic of the early-Christian inscriptions of Phrygia which distinguishes them from contemporary inscriptions in the West—the absence of a distinctive symbolism. The decoration and imagery used on these monuments resembled those used in pagan epitaphs, with the difference that pagan cult emblems tended to be suppressed on the Christian slabs. It was, generally speaking, only a few decades after the Council of Nicæa that symbols like the cross were used in Asia Minor.

The inscriptions which I have been describing extend continuously, and in bulk, over the portion of Phrygia which lay between the two great roads leading from the west coast to the interior, the Hermus Valley and Maeander Valley routes. This area has been very exhaustively explored, and it is clear that most of it was largely Christian in the third century. The social picture which the inscriptions present, as Ramsay has pointed out,[3] is one of orderly development, and of good feeling and accommodation between the Christians and their pagan neighbours. We find Christians holding municipal office, and thus entering into relations with the Roman government and the Roman state religion which must have required careful adjustment between the claims of patriotism and those of conscience. At the end of the third century, this district suffered severely in the persecution initiated by Diocletian, whose policy aimed at the extirpation of Christianity, and who attacked the Church in its strongest positions. But throughout the third century—as the ecclesiastical historians have pointed out—persecution weighed but lightly on Phrygia ; during those long periods when the government was friendly or indifferent, and the initiative in persecution, if taken at all, was taken by individuals, the Christians of Phrygia enjoyed a *pax ecclesiae* of their own. These facts, their previous immunity from persecution and their wholesale suffering under Diocletian and his associates bear witness both to their spirit of accommodation and to their numbers and influence.

The district with which we are concerned lay along, and immediately north of, the Maeander Valley route which led from Ephesus past Hierapolis, Laodicea and Colossae to Southern Galatia. It was along this route that St. Paul had planted his churches ; and the

[1] *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 489,
[2] *Mélanges d'Arch., etc.*, 1895, p. 256.
[3] For what follows, cf. *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 502 ff.

source of the Christianity of Central Phrygia has never been doubtful. Ramsay long ago concluded, and no one has disputed the correctness of his conclusion, that Central Phrygia, which lies just east and north-east of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, was christianised from the Pauline churches in these cities. The 'concealed' type of epitaph, with all that it implies in respect of the Christian attitude to pagan society, was used by the early Christians of Central Phrygia right up to the Hermus Valley road throughout the third century. It is found sporadically to the north and east of this region, where the formula δώσει λόγον θεῷ prevailed over the Central Phrygian ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

We now turn our attention to a very different type of Christian tombstone, the known examples of which belong to the second half of the third century and perhaps run over into the first two decades of the fourth. A number of these monuments have been found in the Tembris Valley,[1] which lies some thirty miles north of the region we have been describing, and isolated examples have come to light at Traianopolis,[2] on the Hermus Valley route, near Thyatira[3] in Lydia, and possibly at Apamea[4] in Central Phrygia. These monuments stand in sharp contrast to those of Central Phrygia, and are, indeed, unexampled in the whole Roman world. It should be borne in mind that Phrygian tombstones were set up openly, for all to see, and were not dedicated in underground caverns like the tablets in the Roman Catacombs. The words of Avircius Marcellus, ἵν' ἔχω φανερῶς σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν[5] apply to all Phrygian epitaphs, orthodox as well as sectarian.

But not even the Roman Catacombs can show a series of third-century epitaphs, which were dedicated by 'Christians to Christians,' and which state the fact boldly for all to read. There are features in these tombstones which would surprise us were they not accompanied by this bold avowal of Christianity. Two of them[6] contain the Christian title πρεσβύτερος. 'In other parts of Phrygia,' says the discoverer of the first of these, 'this would indicate a post-Constantine date, but that criterion does not apply to this district; where people openly call themselves Christians, there could be no reason for avoiding the mention of a Christian office. This conclusion is supported

[1] Nos. 2-12 below.
[2] No. 1 below.
[3] No. 13 below.
[4] No. 14 below.
[5] See p. 312 above.
[6] Nos. 8 and 12 below.

by the style of the lettering, which seems to me clearly to belong to the third century (or, at latest, to the early years of the fourth).'[1] The use of Christian titles is not absolutely unexampled elsewhere in pre-Constantinian inscriptions; an inscription of Eumeneia mentioning an ἐπίσκοπος is almost certainly of the third century;[2] but as titles like ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος were used by pagans in a different sense, their open use by Christians, rare as it was, was not a serious deviation from their normal sepulchral practice. But the second of the two inscriptions referred to, which is also pre-Constantinian, casts aside all concealment and proclaims that the sons of the dedicator are Χρηστιανοὶ πρεσβύτεροι. Two of the 'Christians to Christians' monuments,[3] again, have a cross carved over the inscription. It is a noteworthy fact that even in the West, where symbolism developed early and freely, the sign of the cross was late in making its appearance on Christian tombstones. In the early days of Jewish Christianity, the avoidance of this σκάνδαλον is intelligible; but it was long before even the Gentile Christians adopted the cross as a sepulchral symbol. In Asia Minor, apart from two or three exceptional cases, it appears first about A.D. 350, and soon became almost universal.[4] But neither the open use of Christian titles nor the open use of the cross, significant as both are as features of this group of epitaphs, would by themselves indicate more than a rather extreme example of the 'concealed' type.[5]

[1] Anderson in *Studies in E. Rom. Prov.* (Ramsay), p. 204.

[2] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, pp. 501, 521; Cumont, *Mélanges d'Arch.*, etc., 1895, p. 264. For Isaurian practice, cf. Miss Ramsay in *Studies in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 22 ff.

[3] Nos. 9, 10 below.

[4] See my note in *J.R.S.*, 1920, p. 56, where the list of exceptions should be completed (so far as I know them) by references to the Tembris Valley examples and to the monument published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 36, where the crosses form an inconspicuous part of the decoration. On the tombstone published, *ibid.*, p. 83, I suspect the cross to be a later addition, as in a monument published in *J.H.S.*, 1913, p. 104, where a few strokes of the chisel and the carving of a cross converted a Phrygian curse-formula into a Christian tombstone. Cf. also *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 169, No. x.

[5] The cross, indeed, occurs on an epitaph from the Tembris Valley (*Studies in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 217, No. 16), which appears to belong to the third century, and does not exhibit the formula 'Christians to Christians.' A fourth example (*op. cit.*, p. 143), is of very doubtful Christianity,

But the carving of the formula 'Christians to Christians' openly on gravestones contradicts, as we have seen, the universal practice of the Church in the period before Constantine. The Christians who dedicated these tombstones were evidently in fundamental disagreement with their co-religionaries of Central Phrygia, and, we may add, of the Roman Empire generally, on the question of profession. How are we to explain this divergence of opinion and of practice?

These inscriptions have attracted much attention, and the theory which Ramsay put forward in 1888,[1] to account for their character has been widely followed. Ramsay showed that the earliest Christian missions in Asia Minor radiated from three centres, all of Apostolic foundation: Ephesus and the Churches of Asia, the Churches of South Galatia, and the Churches of Bithynia and Pontus. In Northern Phrygia he detected the meeting-place of two streams of Christian influence. The 'concealed' epitaphs belonged to the Christianity which spread from Ephesus and Laodicea over Central Phrygia. The 'open profession' epitaphs of Northern Phrygia were produced by the influence of a more rigid type of Christianity which originated in Bithynia, and followed the great road which leads from the Bosporus into the interior of Asia Minor, and reaches the plateau in Northern Phrygia. A further explanation of the freedom of profession in the Tembris Valley was sought in the remoteness of this district from large cities, which screened it from the attention of Roman government officials.

This supplementary hypothesis has been effectively demolished by Ramsay's further work. In *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 188 ff., Anderson adduces new evidence confirming an earlier theory of Ramsay's that the territory on which several at least of these epitaphs were dedicated belonged to a Roman Imperial Estate. And in the same work, p. 305 ff., Ramsay has shown that the *coloni* on the Imperial Estates of a large part of Central Asia Minor were organised in a pagan religious association which had its headquarters near Pisidian Antioch, and whose monuments show it to have been definitely anti-Christian. Further, an entry on the lists of sub-

and is probably, in any case, post-Constantinian. The cross occasionally appears on pagan monuments; an Anatolian example in Mendel, *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse*, p. 160.

[1] *Expositor*, 1888, pp. 241 ff, 401 ff.

scribers to the funds of this association shows that it included *coloni* from Tataion or Tottaion, the second of the two chief places on the Tembris Valley Estate.[1] Roman officials of high standing were no doubt seldom seen in this region, but the inference that the 'open profession' monuments were set up in safe and unobserved seclusion will not bear examination. It is now clear that the anti-Christian brotherhoods on the Imperial Estates played no inconsiderable part in the persecutions of the later third century, and it was at least as unsafe to proclaim oneself a Christian on those Estates as it was in one of the greater cities. Anderson has pointed out that the monuments of this very region preserve traces of the artificial revival of pagan cult which was part of the policy of the persecuting Emperors in the later third century.[2]

The hypothesis of Bithynian influence at an earlier period is not impossible in itself; but it is equally unsatisfactory as an explanation of the Tembris Valley epitaphs. To make it fit the facts, it would be necessary to show that early Bithynian Christianity was of a specially uncompromising character, and that this character lasted on in its North-Phrygian offshoot. There is, however, no reason to believe that the Christianity of Bithynia differed from that of Southern Asia. If the evidence of an outsider can be trusted, Pliny's letter to Trajan on the Christians appears to indicate the same mixture of bold and faint, and the same desire on the part of the Christians to reach a *modus vivendi*,[3] as we should expect to find in a non-Christian account of similar proceedings in Asia.

Ramsay, indeed, was at one time disposed to account for the Tembris Valley epitaphs by the only hypothesis which appears to me to fit all the facts, the hypothesis that they are the epitaphs of a community of Montanists.[4] Those who are familiar with the Montanist writings of Tertullian will readily admit that there is at least a *prima facie* case for this view. Tertullian, after he went over to Montanism, wrote two treatises on the duty of Christians in regard to the profession of their faith, and leaves us in no doubt as to the Montanist attitude

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 370. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[3] § 7. quod ipsum (the holding of meetings) facere desisse (sc. se adfirmabant) post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse uetueram.

[4] *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 491. On p. 510 of the same work he deserts this hypothesis, and returns to the theory of Bithynian origin. So in *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 195.

on this question. It was the duty of a Christian to proclaim his faith openly in all circumstances, and risk the consequences. What Tertullian had preached, the peasants of the Tembris Valley practiced. So long as we treat these epitaphs as orthodox, we are at a loss to explain why they should differ so radically from all known orthodox epitaphs. The theory that they were dedicated in circumstances of special security has broken down. Regarded as the monuments of a sect which looked on profession as a duty not to be evaded, and martyrdom as a prize to be coveted, they begin to be intelligible. On one of them,[1] the dedicator describes himself as a 'great soldier'; *miles Christi* was almost a technical term in Montanist phraseology; and in its Montanist sense of 'soldier of Christ' we may concede his right to the title.

But our case for assigning these epitaphs to a community of Montanists will become stronger if we can make it appear probable that a Montanist community existed in this rustic and backward part of Phrygia. That such a community did exist is made highly probable by evidence collected by Anderson which bears on the Christianity of this region at a later date.[2] In the fourth century, Novatianism was very strong in this neighbourhood: in the year A.D. 368 the neighbouring city of Kotiaion, the Metropolis of the Tembris Valley, had a Novatian bishop, and the Novatian Synod of Pazon was held in the same year at a point a little to the east of the Tembris Valley, near the source of the Sangarius. Now Harnack has observed that the earlier Montanists in other parts of Asia Minor appear as Novatians in the fourth century,[3] a view to which I had been independently led by a study of the fourth-century Christianity of Eastern Phrygia in the light of a set of new heretical inscriptions.[4] To argue back from Novatianism in the fourth century to Montanism in the third is not a violent proceeding, and we should at least not run counter to the archæological evidence if we assumed this development in the Christianity of the Tembris Valley.

But a safer basis for argument will be a topographical study of the Montanist movement itself, and here we shall be in a position to argue

[1] No. 12 below. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[3] *Expansion of Christianity*, II., p. 356.

[4] They will be published in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, now in the press.

forwards as well as backwards. We have examined the character of the Christianity which spread over Central Phrygia in the third century, and we have observed that it spread from the Pauline Churches in the south. Here, what we may call (using the term for the present in a purely geographical sense), *Laodicean* Christianity was already firmly established when the inscriptions begin to tell their tale about A.D. 200, and in the inscriptions of this district, with one doubtful exception,[1] we find no trace of the influence of Montanist tenets. But this is the very region in which ecclesiastical tradition and the evidence of epigraphy place the storm-centre of the great Montanist controversy, which convulsed the Asian Church in the third quarter of the second century, and whose echoes continue to reverberate throughout Asia Minor till about A.D. 200. The local names recorded in connection with the Montanist controversy in Phrygia all belong to the strip of country lying along and between the roads which mounted to the plateau from Laodicea and from Philadelphia respectively ; and the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, the most remarkable of all early Christian epitaphs, sets before us, 'in the brief and clear-cut terms of a last will and testament,' the opinions of an anti-Montanist leader of this district who had lived through the controversy.

The origin and even the nature of the original Phrygian Montanism are wrapt in obscurity. According to the most probable view, the prophet Montanus appeared in A.D. 157 and the prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla about the same time or a little later. The activity of these three fills the third quarter of the second century. To penetrate behind Tertullian, who went over to Montanism early in the third century and became the great expositor of the new prophecy, to the original Montanism of Montanus and his companions, is an adventure which has tempted many famous historians of dogma. That collections of Montanist 'prophecies' were in circulation is certain, and it is also certain that these were accessible to Tertullian, probably in the original Greek.[2] But Tertullian's quotations from these 'prophetic books,' together with Montanist sayings preserved in the controversial writings of opponents, amount in all to twenty brief sentences.[3] Amid such poverty of ascertained fact, it is not surprising that the

[1] See on No. 14 below.
[2] Bonwetsch, *Gesch. des Montanismus*, p. 16 ff.
[3] Collected, *ibid.*, p. 197 ff.

historians of dogma present the enquirer into the character of Phrygian Montanism with a bewildering wealth of opinion. The layman must avoid controversial issues, and operate only with agreed facts. All, or most, recent authorities are agreed that Phrygian Montanism, with its doctrine of the Paraclete and its belief in the approach of a Great Persecution followed by the Second Advent, its claim that the age of Apostolic revelation had not ended or the fountains of prophecy run dry, its appeal to the revelation of its own prophets as the completion of Old Testament and New Testament revelation, its rigorist discipline, stern attitude to the lapsed, and insistence on the duty of profession even at the risk of martyrdom—all are agreed that in these respects Phrygian Montanism represented tendencies which were widely prevalent in the Church as a whole. It is equally clear that an organised group holding such opinions was bound to come into conflict with a Church which, on the one hand, was beginning to regard the Canon of the New Testament as closed, and on the other hand, lay under the necessity of devising a rule of life which would ensure its survival and growth in the midst of a pagan society and under a hostile pagan government. Can the student of Phrygian antiquities suggest reasons why such a group should have appeared, and the schism should have been precipitated in Phrygia? The following pages are an attempt to give a partial answer to this question. The answer is partial because it must confine itself to a study of certain aspects of the local history, topography and archæology of early Christianity in Asia. With questions of doctrine we can have no concern.

Let us glance once more at the local facts recorded in connection with the earliest Montanist movement. Christianity, as is well known, moved at first along the great highways of the Roman Empire, and only after a time attacked the regions lying off these routes. We find the Montanist controversy affecting the cities of Central Phrygia between A.D. 157 and 200. After A.D. 200, when the inscriptions begin to tell their story, we find Central Phrygia solidly orthodox. Towards the middle of the third century, and from then to its close, we find evidence of Montanist communities in Northern Phrygia and along the Lydian border. May we assume as a working hypothesis that the Montanist type of Christianity, like the South-Asian type, was launched into Central Phrygia from some point on a great route, that it competed

with the South-Asian type for the evangelisation of Central Phrygia, that it was eventually worsted and driven northwards into the rustic and backward region of the Tembris? If this hypothesis leads to fruitful results, it will have been proved to contain some element of truth.

Eusebius tells us that Montanus appeared in 'Ardabau'—clearly a corrupt form of a local name—on the borders of Phrygia and Mysia.[1] This description, taken by itself, would apply to any point on the notoriously vague borderland of Phrygia and Mysia from Philadelphia to Dorylaeum. The next local names recorded—Pepouza and Eumeneia—make it highly probable that 'Ardabau' lay in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia; and it is a very attractive suggestion of Ramsay's that the name was Kardaba, which would make it identical with Kallataba near Philadelphia.[2] The places known to early Montanist history, Pepouza (east of Philadelphia, where the Montanists awaited the descent of the New Jerusalem), Eumeneia, Otrous and Hieropolis—all lie in the region between the Philadelphian and Laodicean roads to the plateau. Let us therefore begin with Philadelphia, examining the early Christian records of the Philadelphian region, and see whether they throw any light on our problem. The earliest reference to Philadelphian Christianity is in the Apocalypse, which was written towards the end of the first century. Ignatius, between A.D. 110 and A.D. 118, passed through the city, communed with the members of its Church, and wrote them a letter from Troas. A group of martyrs from Philadelphia suffered with Polycarp at Smyrna in A.D. 155, as we learn from the letter sent by the Church in Smyrna to the Church in Philomelium at the time of the martyrdom. At some unknown date between A.D. 100 and A.D. 150 we must place the activity of the Philadelphian prophetess Ammia whose prophecy, as the Anonymous in Eusebius[3] informs us, was accepted by the orthodox party in the Montanist controversy as of equal validity with that of the canonical Agabus and the daughters of Philip. This list, I believe, exhausts the literary record of Phila-

[1] *H.E.*, V., 16, 7. *κώμη τις εἶναι λέγεται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ, καλουμένη Ἀρδαβαῦ τοὔνομα.*

[2] *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 573, where a site S. or S.E. of Philadelphia is suggested for 'Ardabau.'

[3] *H.E.*, V., 17, 2, 3, 4.

delphian Christianity down to the middle of the second century. Philadelphia has yielded few incriptions ; its earliest Christian inscriptions belong to the fifth century.[1]

We begin with the Letter to the Church in Philadelphia in the Apocalypse. Philadelphia was one of 'the Seven Churches of Asia,' whatever these words imply. That these Churches held some sort of precedence or representative character among the churches of the province Asia, and that they were individually well known to the author of the Apocalypse, admits of no doubt. They may very well, as Ramsay has suggested,[2] have been centres of distribution in the postal system maintained by the early Church—certainly no more probable explanation has been offered of the choice of these seven Churches as the recipients of the Letters. It is, in any case, a fact that two of these Churches, those of Philadelphia and Laodicea, lay farthest along the two great routes of Christian expansion in the province Asia, and lay closest of all the Seven Churches to the Central Phrygian district which we have found to have been in fact evangelised, and to have formed the scene of the Montanist mission, during the second century. Now let us see what the author of the Apocalypse thought of the Christianity of Philadelphia and of Laodicea respectively. I quote from the Laodicean Letter first. It is important to remember that these Letters were written specially to the Churches named in their superscriptions.

> *And to the angel of the church in Laodicea write: . . . I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So because thou art lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth. Behold thou sayest, I am rich, aud have gotten riches, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art the wretched one and miserable and poor and blind and naked: I counsel thee to buy of me gold refined by fire, that thou mayest become rich; and white garments, that thou mayest clothe thyself, and that the shame of thy nakedness be not made manifest; and eyesalve to anoint thine eyes, that thou mayest see. As many as I*

[1] Grégoire, *Recueil etc.*, Nos. 341 ter—347.
[2] *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 185 ff.

love, I reprove and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent. . . .

Such is the tenour of the Letter addressed by the Author of the Apocalypse to the Church which was, in the next century, to extend its teaching over Central Phrygia.

And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: . . . I know thy works (*behold,* I have set before thee a door opened, *which none can shut*), *that thou hast a little power, and didst keep my word, and* didst not deny my name. *Behold, I give of the synagogue of Satan, of them that say they are Jews, and they art not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou didst keep the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from* the hour of trial, that hour which is to come upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. I come quickly: *hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go out thence no more: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the* city of my God, the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God, *and mine own new name. . . .*

It is well known that the Montanist sect drew its inspiration from the Apocalypse, and it has been suggested that Montanist reverence for this Book was a main reason for its tardy admission to the Canon of the Eastern Church. We have found reason to believe that Montanism originated in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia; can we establish a relation between Montanism and the Philadelphian Letter? To appreciate the standpoint from which the Author of the Apocalypse addressed the Asian Churches, we must bear in mind his attitude to pagan society and to the Roman government. However the symbolism of the Apocalypse is to be interpreted in detail, the attitude of the Author is manifestly one of fierce opposition, which denounces pagan religion and the Roman state in almost savage language, and meets persecution with defiance. In the light of this attitude, we must interpret the 'lukewarmness' of the wealthy Laodicean Church; 'lukewarmness,' in such a situation and for such a writer, must con-

note, in part at least, a disposition to compromise with pagan society. On the other hand, the Philadelphian Church is warmly commended for its steadfastness under trial, no doubt in circumstances similar to those under which the Church in Pergamon is praised : 'thou holdest fast my name, and didst not deny my faith, even in the days of Antipas my witness, my faithful one, who was killed among you, where Satan dwelleth.' For the Author of these Letters, acquainted as he was with the Churches which he addressed, there was a fundamental difference in character between the Christianity of Philadelphia and that of Laodicea.

The links between the Philadelphian Letter itself and Montanist doctrine are sufficiently obvious. Without laying undue stress on the 'door set before' Philadelphia, which is clearly to be interpreted as the route of missionary enterprise leading up into Phrygia opposite the gates of the city,[1] we may note that the commendation 'thou hast not denied my name' is addressed to the Church in whose orbit we find, at a later date, the birthplace of a sect which showed that they could deserve this commendation in circumstances of extreme danger. Still more significant is the preliminary announcement to the Philadelphians of the Great Persecution and the descent of the New Jerusalem, of which a fuller announcement is made later in the Apocalypse. A belief in the literalness of this prophecy was, as we have seen, the foundation of the Montanist faith ; and a section of the sect actually expected the New Jerusalem to descend at Pepouza, not far east of Philadelphia. If the Philadelphian Letter shows that, at the end of the first century, Philadelphian Christianity was similar in an important respect to that of the sect which afterwards originated there, it is equally clear that, when Montanism was formulated in the middle of the second century, this Philadelphian movement was certain to regard the Philadelphian Letter as its charter and its marching orders.

We have glanced at the methods of compromise and accommodation by which the Christianity of Laodicea and the other South-Asian churches gained a footing in central Phrygia. With such methods the Author of the Apocalypse would himself have had little sympathy ; may we regard the Montanist mission as a Philadelphian protest against

[1] So Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 404 ff. followed by Charles in the *International Critical Commentary ad loc.* and (cautiously) by Peake in *The Revelation of John*, p. 250.

such methods? This would of course not be the whole truth about Montanism, but it would be a significant part of it. In the Orthodox-Montanist struggle in Central Phrygia we should then recognise a clash between two schools of missionary enterprise, one attacking Central Phrygia along the Maeander Valley route, the other operating along the Philadelphian road. The northern school 'dreamed dreams and saw visions,' preached the approaching end of the world, insisted on the austerest discipline and open profession, and hurled defiance in the face of paganism. The southern school realised that the Church must live in the world, and tried to give practical expression to the view that Christianity must be the 'leaven in the lump.' In the issue, as ecclesiastical history and the local inscriptions record, the southern school triumphed. But the heresy known as 'the Phrygian' was not driven out of Phrygia. Worsted in the hellenised and educated cities of Central Phrygia, it found a more permanent footing in the heart of the old Phrygian kingdom, where Phrygian custom and mentality were as yet little affected by Greek civilisation. The evidence of Didymus [1] and Jerome [2] makes it highly probable that Montanus himself had been a priest of Cybele before his conversion to Christianity; and in the manner, as distinct from the content, of Montanist prophecy, there was undoubtedly an element which appealed to a population which had been devoted for centuries to the orgiastic cult of Phrygia.

A recent historian thus summarises the contemporary controversy regarding the manner of Montanist prophecy—a subject which Epiphanius could still treat as a living issue in A.D. 375. 'It was agreed by churchmen and Montanists alike that "prophecy was a gift which should continue in the whole Church to the end of time." But, according to her conception of prophecy, the Church held it an objection to Montanism *in limine* that the Montanist prophets spoke either in ecstasy or in parecstasy, i.e. in false kind of ecstasy that was stimulated or artificially induced. There seems to have been some division of opinion among Catholics as to the mode in which inspiration should operate: nor to this day has the Church any theory on that point; she is only committed to belief in the fact that "the Holy Ghost . . . spake by the prophets." Miltiades, for instance, maintained that

[1] *De Trin.*, III., 41, 3.

[2] *Ep.*, XLI., 4. Cf. B. J. Kidd, *History of the Church to* A.D. 461, I., p. 280.

ecstasy was wholly to be condemned, and that if one speak in ecstasy he is no true prophet. This test would seem to be in accordance with the distinction observable in Holy Scripture between prophecy and divination. The prophets, whether of the Old or the New Covenant, remained conscious under inspiration ; and " the spirits of the prophets " were, as St. Paul reminded the Corinthians, " subject to the prophets." Balaam, on the other hand, who prophesied in a trance, was a " soothsayer." But Tertullian defended trance and urged in reply that St. Peter on the Mount of Transfiguration spoke as in a trance " not knowing what he said," and certainly St. Paul, when caught up into Paradise, had revelations made to him under conditions of trance. The Church, therefore, fell back upon the contention that what was wrong was frenzy : and Montanism was no true prophecy but heathen divination.' [1]

The association of frenzy with divination (*μανία* with *μαντική*) is as old as Plato,[2] and the two were inseparable in the pagan cult of Phrygia. In this respect Montanism was ' racy of Phrygian soil,' and this very quality in Montanist prophecy, while it would be certain to arouse criticism in the educated churches of the Central Phrygian cities, would recommend it to the old-fashioned Phrygians of the northern district. This is not the only case in which we find Christianity accommodating itself to the inherited prejudices of Anatolian paganism.[3]

This reconstruction of its local history would appear then to offer some account of the vogue which Montanism had in Phrygia after its formal condemnation by the Church, as well as to explain the distribution of the contemporary Christian monuments. Let us now turn to the sub-apostolic records of Philadelphian Christianity, and see whether they have any light to throw on our subject.

The Anonymous quoted by Eusebius (*H.E.*, V., 17), mentions a prophetess Ammia of Philadelphia, whom the Montanists claimed as a forerunner of their prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla ; her date cannot be fixed with certainty, but must fall between the years A.D. 100 and A.D. 150. The name Ammia, common in early Christian inscriptions

[1] B. J. Kidd, *op. cit.*, I., p. 291 f. Cf. Bonwetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-69.
[2] *Phaedrus*, 244 b, c, cf. Bonwetsch, p. 67.
[3] Cf. The story of Glycerius the Deacon, as told by Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Empire*, p. 443 ff.

of Phrygia, is widely spread in Asia Minor, and, no doubt, belonged to the old Anatolian language. It is significant that the prophecy of Ammia was accepted as valid both by the Montanists and by the orthodox party : her activity evidently belongs to a period before the open schism took place. We would fain know more of this obscure figure, who stands so close to the parting of the ways leading to Pepouza and to Nicaea. The bearing on our problem of her origin in Philadelphia is obvious.

In his letter to the Church in Philadelphia, written between A.D. 110 and A.D. 118, Ignatius refers to his visit to that Church as he passed through Asia Minor on his way from Syria to martyrdom in Rome. This letter is one of a series written to five churches in Asia, those of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia, and Smyrna, to which must be added a letter to the Bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp. The main burden of this group of letters is the writer's desire for martyrdom, his exhortations to unity and submission to the bishops, and his warnings against the heresy of Docetism, which asserted that the events of Christ's life on earth had taken place in appearance only. This heresy was probably Judaic, and Ignatius' attitude in reply is summed up in a sentence written to the Smyrnæans (§ 4) *εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, κἀγὼ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι.* 'For if these things were done by our Lord in semblance, then am I also a prisoner in semblance.' Lightfoot thus describes the purport of the Philadelphian letter.[1] 'The main burden is the heresy which troubled the Philadelphian Church. It had awakened his anxiety during his own sojourn there, and the later reports of Philo and Agathopus had aggravated his alarm. What the nature of this heresy was, the tenour of his letter plainly indicates. He is attacking a form of Docetic Judaism, but more directly from its Judaic than from its Docetic side. The Docetism is tacitly reproved in the opening salutation, where he congratulates the Philadelphians as "rejoicing in the Passion of our Lord without wavering," and "steadfast in the conviction of His Resurrection," and salutes them "in the blood of Jesus Christ which is eternal and abiding joy." There are, perhaps, also allusions to it, when speaking of the Eucharist he refers to the "one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ" (§ 4), and when he describes himself as "taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus" (§ 5). But the

[1] *Apostolic Fathers*, II., 2, p. 242.

Judaism is openly attacked, etc.' This treatment of the Philadelphian letter is hardly satisfactory. When we compare the phrases singled out by Lightfoot as anti-Docetic with the language in which Ignatius attacks Docetism in the letters to Ephesus, Tralles, and Smyrna, we can only reflect that his reproof in this case is tacit indeed. It is difficult to imagine a letter written by Ignatius under any circumstances which would not contain language similar to the above phrases; a robust realism is of the essence of his creed.[1] On the other hand, his Philadelphian letter does appear to refer to a serious dispute, in which he himself had taken part, regarding the relative validity of Old Testament prophecy and New Testament revelation. It was fashionable at one time to look for the seeds of the Montanist prophecy in Judaism; would it be presumptuous to suggest to the historians of dogma that the letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians should be re-examined in the light of what has been said above of the connection of Philadelphia with the origin of Montanism? Ignatius had talked with the Philadelphian Christians; without exaggerating the importance of single phrases, it may be pointed out that in his letter to them he uses a variation of the Montanist metaphor of the lyre (§ 1), that he likens those who, whether circumcised or uncircumcised, 'speak not concerning Jesus Christ' to *στῆλαι καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων* (§ 6), and that in reply to Judaic opponents he uses language which would later have served as a reply to Montanus—*ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀνάστασιν. οἱ γὰρ ἀγαπητοὶ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν εἰς αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμά ἐστιν ἀφθαρσίας* (§ 9). If this was true in retrospect, why not in prospect? With the intransigence of Philadelphian Christianity,

[1] In the letter to the Romans (*A.F.*, II., 2, p. 185) Lightfoot found no trace of anti-Docetic polemic, in that to Polycarp (*ibid.*, p. 329) only 'a passing allusion expressed in general terms.' In this respect both may fairly be compared with the Philadelphian letter. To the Romans (§ 6) he wrote: *ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα, ἐκεῖνον θέλω, τὸν [δι' ἡμᾶς] ἀναστάντα*, and *ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου*. To Polycarp he wrote (§ 3): *τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατόν, . . . τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δ' ἡμᾶς παθητόν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα*. If the argument from isolated phrases is to be pressed, the letters to the Romans and to Polycarp have as much or as little claim to be called anti-Docetic as the letter to the Philadelphians.

Ignatius would be the last to quarrel ; his letter may, perhaps, indicate that some Philadelphians held views on the subject of prophecy which were carrying them from the paths of orthodoxy.

Argument from this letter, however, must not be pressed too far. Lightfoot makes it a plea for the genuineness of the seven letters of Ignatius that they contain no reference to Montanism, as it was formulated in the second half of the second century. He deals in particular with Ignatius' letter to the Philadelphians, and notes that in his message to the city of the prophetess Ammia Ignatius makes no reference to the 'new dispensation' or to the Paraclete or to the New Jerusalem or to the two opposing views of the prophet's inspiration.[1] The absence of any reference to the controversies of A.D. 157 to 200 and later is a telling argument for the genuineness of the 'middle recension' ; conversely, the Philadelphian letter must be taken as evidence, none the less convincing because negative, that the 'Phrygian' movement, as we know it in the later second century, had not taken shape in the reign of Trajan. We are entitled to see in the Philadelphian letter of Ignatius traces of a difference of opinion regarding the function of 'prophets.' It would, however, be beating the air to speculate on the steps by which this difference of opinion may have developed, at a later date, into one of the issues in dispute between the orthodox and Montanist parties. If our view of the pre-history of Montanism is correct, such development may be regarded as highly probable.

In A.D. 155 or 156, a year or two before the traditional date of the appearance of Montanus, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom in Smyrna. Shortly after the martyrdom, the Church in Smyrna sent a letter to the Church in Philomelium, in Phrygia, describing the martyrdom and the events which led up to it. We are concerned here with the general character of this document, of which we possess the authentic original version, and with two incidental references which it contains. Of its *bona fides* there can be no question ; it describes the martyrdom as the writers believed it to have happened. It contains a sub-tone of controversy or justification, in which some critics have detected a mark of later date. But such a document may be both contemporary and tendencious ; the Smyrnæan letter is both.

[1] *Apostolic Fathers*, II., 1, p. 383.

Its keynote is given in an early sentence: *σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἔγενετο, ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον*—'For nearly all the events leading up to it came to pass that the Lord might show us once more an example of martyrdom which is conformable to the Gospel.' This character of Polycarp's martyrdom is insisted on and illustrated throughout the letter, both by direct inference from his conduct and experiences, and by contrast with the conduct of Quintus, who 'had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own free will. This man the pro-consul by much entreaty persuaded to swear the oath and to offer incense. For this cause, therefore, brethern, we praise not those who deliver themselves up, since the Gospel doth not so teach us.' It is needless to quote the individual passages in which it is pointed out over and over again that the martyrdom of Polycarp conformed to the Gospel model; they meet the eye of every reader of the letter.

Why this insistence? It has been argued by high authorities that it is merely a sign of fervour and enthusiasm, called forth by the glorious martyrdom of a Christian hero.[1] But for one passage in the letter, a case might be made for this view; that passage is fatal to it.

Quintus, who challenged martyrdom and then, 'seeing the beasts, turned coward' (*ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν*) is described as *Φρὺξ προσφάτως ἐληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας*, 'a Phrygian newly arrived from Phrygia.' Lightfoot's note is as follows:—

Φρὺξ] Thus illustrating the proverbial cowardice of the Phrygians; compare Tertull., *de Anim.* 20, 'Comici Phrygas timidos illudunt,' and see *Colossians etc.*, p. 312 (378), note 2. Another Phrygian, however, acted in a very different way in the persecutions in Gaul; *Ep. Lugd. et. Vienn.*, 49 sq. (Euseb., *H.E.*, V., 1).

In his edition of the *Colossians etc.*, referred to in this note, Lightfoot of course found no difficulty in assembling a cloud of witnesses to the fact that 'Phrygian' could denote 'coward.' But the word cannot by any possibility mean 'coward' here. Would the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in a letter to the congregation of St. Asaphs describing the canonisation of a saint, use the word 'Welshman' in the sense of 'thief'? Would the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a

[1] Such I take to be the view of M. H. Delehaye (*Les Passions des Martyrs*, p. 19). The eminent Bollandist scholar does not discuss the meaning of *Φρύξ* as applied to Quintus.

fraternal message to the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, use 'Scottish' in the sense of 'stingy'? Of such tone is the calculated insult which Lightfoot makes the Asian Church of Smyrna address to the *Phrygian* Church of Philomelium.

It is clear that in this context the word 'Phrygian' must mean something of which both the writers and the recipients of the letter disapproved, but which did not apply to the recipients. The only meaning of Φρύξ which fulfils these conditions is 'Montanist.' The Montanists were regularly referred to as οἱ Φρύγες, and their heresy was ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις. The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* accordingly contains the earliest direct reference to Montanism. On our view of the origin and character of the movement, no anachronism is involved in dating 'Montanism' before the traditional date of the appearance of Montanus.[1]

It would be going too far to describe the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* as an anti-Montanist tractate; in a sense this beautiful document rises above controversy. But the issue raised by Montanism is clearly present to the minds of the writers. To challenge martyrdom is wrong, because the Gospel, solicitous for the safety of the brethern,[2] teaches otherwise; it is also dangerous, because it may lead to a moral collapse. Better, like Polycarp, withdraw and try to avoid arrest; if it is the will of God that arrest cannot be avoided, then a good Catholic can die as bravely as any Phrygian fanatic of them all. We have already found occasion to describe the orthodox Phrygian attitude on the question of profession, in the words of the Smyrnæan comment on the lapse of Quintus—*διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδίδοντας ἑαυτούς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*

In the light of this bias in the minds of the writers, we must review the slight and incidental notices contained in the *Martyrdom* con-

[1] Keim (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*, p. 155 f.) took Quintus to be a Montanist, and used this as an argument for dating the martyrdom of Polycarp in A.D. 166, as Montanism had not come to the fore in A.D. 155-6, the date fixed by Waddington. Lightfoot (*A.F.*, II., 1, p. 676 f.) had no difficulty in demolishing Keim's chronology; but he himself did not allow for the possibility that there were 'Phrygians' before Montanus. See also Bonwetsch, *op. cit.*, p. 143 f.

[2] § 1. *περιέμενεν γὰρ ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα, μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς πέλας· ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.*

cerning the companions of Polycarp. On Germanicus, of whom it is said (§ 3) that he showed signal steadfastness and strengthened others by his example, Lightfoot observes that 'The day of Germanicus in the Latin Martyrologies is 19 January, though they place the martyrdom of the companions of S. Polycarp, whom they make ten or eleven in number, on the same day with his, 26 January. The Greek Calendar contains no mention of Germanicus.' It is therefore doubtful whether Germanicus is or is not to be regarded as one of the martyrs from Philadelphia mentioned in §19 of the *Martyrdom*. The language in which they are referred to is significant and characteristic: *Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὃς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσας μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων [μᾶλλον] μνημονεύεται, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἔξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον*—'So it befel the blessed Polycarp, who having with those from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom in Smyrna—twelve in all—is especially remembered more than the others by all men, so that he is talked of even by the heathen in every place; for he showed himself not only a notable teacher, but also a distinguished martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, *seeing that it was after the pattern of the Gospel*.' On this Lightfoot writes: 'The most natural interpretation here is that all eleven were Philadelphians, but *σὺν τοῖς κ.τ.λ.* may perhaps mean "with eleven others including those from Philadelphia." Of those eleven others one only, Germanicus, is mentioned in this letter by name.'

Quintus, whose courage failed him, is openly branded as a 'Montanist'; what was the position of these Philadelphian martyrs, who were steadfast to the end, but whose achievement is less talked of than that of Polycarp, 'whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, seeing that it was after the pattern of the Gospel'? Had they, like Quintus, given themselves up, or had they, like Polycarp, sought to avoid arrest? To this question no certain answer can ever be given; there is perhaps a slight balance of probability on the side of the view that these Philadelphians belonged to the Philadelphian school which insisted on open profession.

The main interest, to us, of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* is its clear evidence that the chief practical issue raised by the Montanists

had been raised in a very acute form, in the Province Asia, before the appearance of Montanus. In view of the bias of the writers, it is interesting to note that the word καθολική is applied to the Church of Smyrna in the best MSS. of the *Martyrdom* (§16), for the first time in Christian literature, in its later technical sense of 'Catholic' as opposed to 'heretical' (earlier the word meant 'universal' as opposed to 'local'). Lightfoot, with his customary caution, preferred the reading ἁγία, which has also MS. support. It seems probable, however, that καθολική is the original reading, and that it is used in conscious reference to the incipient Phrygian schism.

Such, so far as an archæologist may judge, appear to be the main outlines of early Montanist history in Phrygia. I print these disjointed notes in the hope that some Church historian, conscious, as I am, of their inadequacy and the lacunæ which they contain, may familiarise himself with the archæology and ancient topography of Phrygia, and write a coherent account of that unpitying Phrygian sect.

II.

A. The 'Christians to Christians' Inscriptions.

Three of the 'Christians to Christians' inscriptions, one from Traianopolis (No. 1) and two from the Tembris Valley (Nos. 6 and 7) were known to Cumont when he drew up his catalogue of the Christian Inscriptions of Asia Minor published in *Mélanges d' Arch. etc.*, 1895. Ramsay had already, in the *Expositor* for 1888, p. 250 ff., discussed a number of additional examples, in English translations. The Greek text of Nos. 2-9 and 11 was published by Anderson in *Stud. in the E. Rom. Prov.* (1906), p. 183 ff. Anderson's discussion of these inscriptions, and of the pagan environment in which they were dedicated, remains the foundation of all study of the subject. After they had been copied by Anderson, two of the monuments (Nos. 8 and 9) were removed to the museum at Brussa, and M. Mendel, who republished them in the *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse* (1908) was able, in the favourable conditions of museum study, to make some slight improvements in the text, which have been adopted in the following pages. M. Mendel's minute description of the form of the monuments and of the decoration is valuable. He also published two inscriptions unknown to Anderson (Nos. 10

and 12). I have not seen the discussions of these and other inscriptions in the following series by Pargoire and Mirbeau, quoted by M. Mendel. No. 13, from the neighbourhood of Thyatira, published by Keil and von Premerstein in 1908, must clearly be classed with the Tembris Valley inscriptions. Of more doubtful connection with this group are Nos. 13 and 14, for reasons which will be stated below. The writer has not seen any of these inscriptions. The following notes are supplementary to those of Ramsay, Anderson and Mendel.

1. Ushak (Traianopolis) C.I.G., 3865 *l*, Ramsay, *C. B. Phr.*, p. 558, no. 444.

ἔτους τξγ', μη(νὸς) Περειτίου ι'. Εὐτύχης Εὐτύχου Τατίᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν Χριστιανοῖ[ς] καὶ ἑαυτῷ· Φελλίνας [Τ]ημενοθυρεὺς [λατύπος ?]. A.D. 278-279.

Traianopolis lay on the main road from Philadelphia to the plateau of Asia Minor. Temenothyræ, the home of the stonecutter (?), lay eight miles to the west.

2. Kürd Köi, in the Tembris Valley. Anderson, *Stud. in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 214, no. 11.

[Τ]λγ'. Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιαν[ῷ]· Αὐρ. Ἀμμεία σὺν τῷ γαμβρ[ῷ] αὐτῶν Ζωτικῷ κὲ σὺν τοῖς ἐ(γ)γόνοις αὐτῶ[ν] Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κὲ Τελεσφόρῳ κὲ Αλ(λ)εξάνδρῳ συνβίῳ ἐποίησαν. A.D. 248-249.

The date, although partly restored, is certain. Probably Alexander is the husband's name, and the name of a third grandchild has been omitted before it.

3. Abia, in the Tembris Valley. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 214, No. 12.

Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Μαρκίωνος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῦσιν ἔτι ζῶν Μαρκί(ω)νι κὲ Ἄππῃ κὲ ἀδελφῷ Ἀρτεμᾷ μνήμης χάριν. Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιανοῖς.

Anderson notes that 'the ungrammatical use of the plural in the closing formula indicates that the formula had already become stereotyped.' Inferences as to date based on the use of the name of the famous heretic Marcion are fallacious.

4. Abia. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 215, No. 13. 'Above the inscription is a relief representing two lions, each with a paw on an ox, in the conventional style common in North Phrygia.'

Αὐρ. Τρόφειμος Ποτεί[του τῆ] *συνβίῳ* Τατίῳ ἔτι ζῶ[ν ἐποίησε] κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Α[ὐρήλι]ο(ι) Ποτῖτος κὲ Τρόφιμος [μνήμης] χάριν κὲ Δόμν[α νύμφη ?] Χρηστειανο[ῖ Χρηστει](α)νοῖς. Τροφιμ[. . .

The letter X is engraved twice at the beginning of Χρηστειανο[ί (see the facsimile *loc. cit.*); probably the first X is a disguised cross.

5. Abia. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 216, No. 14.

Αὐρηλία Ῥουφεῖνα Τροφίμου Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ⟨Δόμνη γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρί⟩ τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Κυρίλλῃ καὶ Βερονεικιανῷ καὶ Αὐρηλίᾳ καὶ Γλυ[κ]ωνίδι καὶ ἑτέρῳ Βερονικιανῷ μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησεν σὺν τῷ ἑαυτῆς υἱῷ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὶς ἔτι ζῶντες· Χρειστιανοὶ Χρειστιανοῖς.

The words *γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρί* are carved in smaller letters between the first and second lines of the inscription. These words, with the name Δόμνη, disturb the syntax of the inscription. Probably there was originally an uncut space at the end of the second line, which was subsequently utilised by Domna to commemorate her husband (perhaps the son Aurelius Alexander). The name Rufina occurs in a third-century inscription of Laodicea Combusta, published in *Class. Rev.*, 1923, p. 56, where reasons are given for classing it as Christian.

6. Gedjek, in the Tembris valley. C.I.G., 3857 *g*; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 216, No. 15.

Αὐρ. Γλύκων Δημητρίᾳ *συνβίῳ* κὲ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν· κὲ τὰ τέκνα [α]ὐτῶν Εὐγένιος κὲ Δόμνα κὲ Παππίκιος κὲ Τ[πά]τιος κὲ Γλύκων κὲ Ζωτικῆς, Χρηστιανο[ῖ Χρηστ]ιανῇ.

Anderson observes that the more fully developed Christian nomenclature in this and the preceding inscription indicates a date later in the third century than Nos. 2-4. The nominative form Ζωτικῆς (probably indicating confusion, helped by itacism, between feminines in -η and in -ίς) is common at this period: cf. Ἄππης in No. 10 alongside of Ἄππη in No. 12, Τατιανῆς in No. 12.

7. Altyn Tash (Soa) in the Tembris Valley. C.I.G., 3857 *p*; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 217 f., No. 17. On a *bomos* finished off at the top as a '*stele* with pointed pediment, in which are represented a spindle and distaff; the main field is occupied by reliefs representing a bird perched on a vine (above) and a team of oxen with plough

(below).' The inscription is cut on the raised border above and below. See Anderson's sketch *loc. cit.*

Αὐξάνουσα ἡ σύνβι[ος Ἀν]δρονίκου κὲ ὁ νεῖὸς αὐτοῦ [Τρό]φιμος κὲ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτο[ῦ] Λάσσαμος ζῶντες ἑα[υ]τοῖς κὲ Ἀνδρονείκ[ῳ], Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστ[ιαν]ῷ, ἐποίησαν.

8. Aï Kuruk. Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 221, No. 20. Mendel, *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse*, p. 172 f., No. 427. On a *stele* with pointed pediment filled by two concentric circles, photographed in Mendel *loc. cit.*

Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχι Σωσθ[έ]νην ἄνδρα ποθητὸν
καὶ κάλλι καὶ με(γέ)θι κὲ σωφροσύνῃ δὲ μάλιστα,
τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐν ἄνδρεσι κῦδος ἔχοντα·
τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἔθανον, λύπησα δὲ πάντας,
καὶ πενθεροὺς λύπησα, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐμάρα[ν]α γυνηκὸς
μετὰ ἧς τ[ρί]α ἔτη συνέζησα, ἀπὸ ἧς ἓν τέκνον ἔσχον·
ο[ἰ] δὲ γονῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐνθάδε κίντη
Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβύτερος μετ[ὰ
τῆς συνβίου Ἄππης κα[ὶ
τῆς θυγατρὸς Κυρίλλης
καὶ τῆς ἐγγόνης Δόμ[νης τοῖς συτέκνοις Σωσθῇ καὶ Δόμνῃ καὶ Σωσθένῃ γανβρῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἐποίαισαν χάριν, Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανο[ῖ]ς.
Τὸν θεὸν σοὶ ἀναγ[νοὺς μὴ ἀδικαίσις.

In l. 12, συτέκνοις (συντέκνοις) means 'adopted children brought up together with the children of the adopters' (Anderson). On the open use of πρεσβύτερος, see above p. 318.

This metrical epitaph is of a more banal character than Nos. 9 and 12; here the phrase τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐν ἄνδρεσι κῦδος ἔχοντα is borrowed directly from pagan models, without adaptation to Christian ideas.

On the phrase τὸν θεὸν σ(ὺ) ἀναγνοὺς μὴ ἀδικ(ή)σ(ε)ις, which recurs in No. 12, and is characteristic of the Tembris Valley inscriptions (there is one outlying example at Pisidian Antioch), see Anderson,

p. 203 f. This phrase is clearly the Montanist equivalent of the Central Phrygian *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* and the East Phrygian *δώσει λόγον θεῷ*, and I suspect it to be based on *Rev.*, 6, 6.

9. Aï Kuruk. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 223, No. 21. Mendel, *op. cit.*, p. 170 f., No. 426. See fig. 2.

Τὸν φιλοχρήστοραν αὖθις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι φανόντα s
τὸν πάσης ἀρε(τῆς) μεμοιημένον εἵνεκα τιμῆς
σοὶ θεὸς ἀκαταφρόνι(τον) χάριν ἔθετο καὶ πόθον ἦνη
σοὶν ἀλόχῳ Νόνῃ πατρὶ σῷ κὴ μητέρι τῇ σῇ
οἵ σ' ἔτεκαν μεγάροισιν ἐνιπρεπέα τε λαοῖσιν
ἠδε κασίγνητος Τρόφιμος κὴ γνήσιος ἀνφω ε
ἄρχοντα πατρίδος λαοῦ καὶ πᾶσι ποθητὸν
εὐξενίην ποθέο(ν)τα καὶ εὐσεβίην ἅμα πᾶσιν s
Σῆμά τέ οἱ τεύξας εἰδίης πραπίδεσι,
στίλην γράψας μνήμης χάριν
ἔθετο αὐτὸς σὺν ἀλόχῳ Νόννῃ
οἳ τὰ τέκνα προέπεμψαν, πάπ-
πων ἔτι ζώντων.
Μήτις ἐμῶν εἰδίων ἢ συνγενέ-
ων μνήματα λύσι ἤ τις τῶν
ἀλλωπατριωτῶν ἔπιτα ὀστέα
γυγμώσι, ἀνασκάψι δὲ τὸ πτῶμα
ἐρχομένης κόλασιν ἐώνιον.
Χρη(σ)τιανοὶ Χρηστιανοῖς
παρεστήσαμεν τὸ ἔργον.

The name of the deceased is not given, unless we read 'Ακατάφρονι in line 3 ; but Acataphron, although a likely enough Christian formation (cf. Amerimnos, Acholios, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 493) appears to be unknown. 'Ακαταφρόνι(τον) for . . . *φρόνητον* is read by Anderson and Mendel. The meaning appears to be 'God vouchsafed thee grace abounding, and (granted) that thou shouldst be wept by thy father and mother as well as by thy wife Nona'.

In line 3, I take *ἦνη* to be the itacistic equivalent of *εἶναι* (cf. *κή* for *καί* below) ; *σοίν* in line 4 is *σύν*. In lines 7 and 8 'the description of the pastoral office, *ἄρχων πατρίδος λαοῦ* is a variation of *λαοῦ προστάμενος* [in another Tembris Valley inscription, *Stud.*

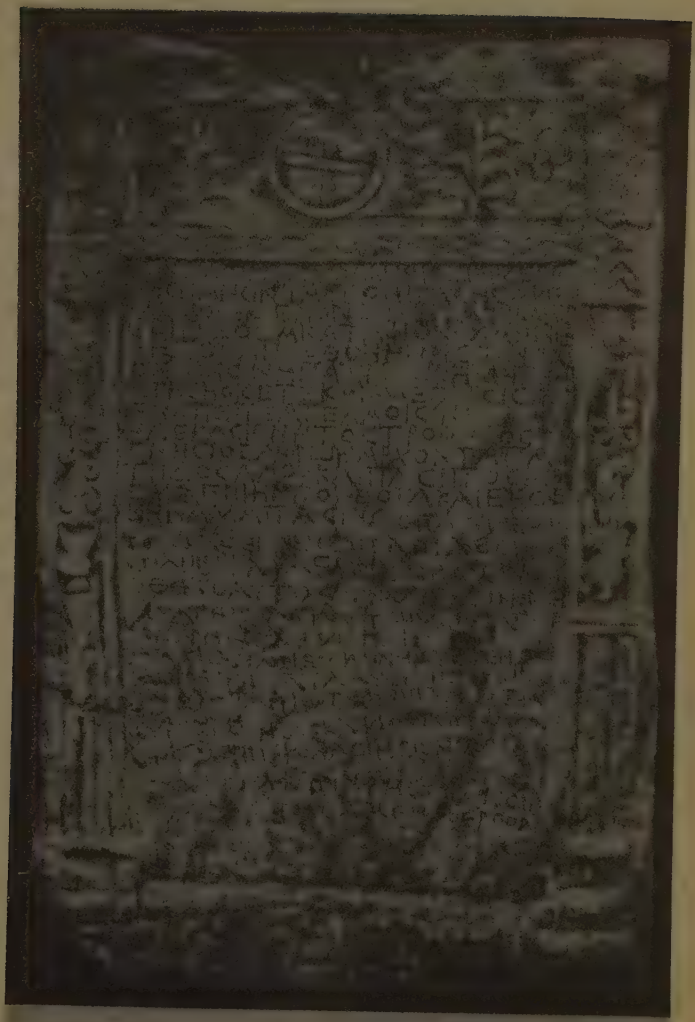


Fig. 2.—Montanist Epitaph mentioning Baptism and Confirmation

in the E. Rom. Prov., p. 125]. Προϊστάμενος or προεστώς and ἡγούμενος are the terms regularly used in the early centuries to describe the office of leader of a Christian community. The virtue of "kindly hospitality to strangers" (εὐξενίη) was emphasised by the early Church' (Anderson).

References to the Sacraments, so common in Christian inscriptions of the West,[1] are very rare in the epigraphy of Asia Minor. In Phrygia I can remember only two instances, the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, which refers to baptism and to the Eucharist, and an epitaph of Laodicea Combusta found at Suverek, which runs: Αὐ. Λουπικηνὸς νεοφώτιστος Φιλαγρίου μη(τρὶ) Καλλήστῃ, on which its editor remarks 'Aur. Lupicenus was a newly baptised Christian; the epithet was in common use in the third and fourth centuries. Was Philagrius his father, or the bishop who baptised him?'[2] Previous editors have missed the clear reference to baptism in the first line of the present inscription— τὸν φιλοχρήστοραν αὖθις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι φανόντα. Anderson read μεγά[λ]οισι and suggested the meaning 'appeared again among the mighty (beatified dead).' But why 'again'? Mendel, who notes that the readings αὖθις and μεγάροισι are certain, adds that the dead man 'élevé dans les palais humains, réapparaît—après sa mort—dans les palais divins.'

These renderings mistake the plain sense of ἐν μεγάροισι φαν(έ)ντα. This and similar phrases (e.g. ἐν ἀνθρώποισι φανέντα No. 12, line 2) are regularly used in late epitaphs with the meaning 'having appeared on earth,' 'having been born'; in this very epitaph, line 5, the phrase οἵ σ' ἔτεκαν μεγάροισιν fixes the meaning of the first line. The meaning of αὖθις now becomes clear, and the line means 'Him who was born again in love of Christ': I take φιλοχρήστοραν to be active, like φιλόχριστος, the title applied to the Byzantine Emperors: e.g. Grégoire, *Recueil etc.*, No. 219 (A.D. 538). This being so, it is probable that the reference in line 2 is equally precise, and that τὸν πάσης ἀρε(τῆς) μεμ(υ)ημένον, which is a common tag in pagan epitaphs, here refers to confirmation. Baptism and confirmation

[1] Le Blant, *Manuel*, p. 171; Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy*, pp. 103-135.

[2] Callander in *Stud. in the E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 175. This inscription was recopied by us in 1910. It is roughly engraved on a small stele; in a circle at the top, there was probably a cross (now defaced). It dates from the later fourth century.

are both referred to on a Christian inscription of Italy quoted by Marucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 111 :—

> 'Nuper praeclaro signatus munere Christi
> qui quondam dura genitorum morte direptus
> suscepit gratos meliore sorte parentes.'

It is easy to read too much into these rude epitaphs ; but it is bad method to treat them as meaningless collections of poetical tags borrowed from paganism.

In the penalty-clause, Mendel reads *ἐπὶ τὰ ὀστέα γυγμωει*, noting that in the last word ε is not certain. Anderson, deserting his copy, (ΓΤΓΜΩCΙ) suggested *ἐρη]μώσι* ; I can, however, feel no doubt that the writer was trying to express the Greek *ἔπειτα ὀστέα γυμνώσει* (or *ἔπειτα (τὰ) ὀστέα*).[1] In the apodosis, he has tried to say 'he shall endure the eternal punishment which is to come.' Cf. *διὰ μίας ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι*, said of Polycarp and his companions : *Mart. Polyc.*, § 2. The last word, *ἔργον*, is common in later Christian inscriptions in the sense of 'tomb.'

10. Aï Kuruk. Mendel, *op. cit.*, p. 80, No. 81. See fig. 3.

Αὐρ. Ἄππης ἀνδρὶ Τροφίμῳ τῷ κὲ Κράσῳ γλυκυτάτῳ κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶ(ν) Τρόφιμος κὲ Νικόμαχος κὲ Δόμνα κὲ Ἄππης πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ ζώσῃ · Χρηστιανοὶ Χρηστιανῷ.

11. Kuyudjak, in the Tembris Valley. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 227, No. 23. On a 'rectangular block, with simple moulding.' The stone is broken at the top.

> *. . . ῳ [τ]ῷ ἑ[α]υτῶν συνγενῖ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*
> *ἐποίησαν, Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανῷ.*

'The simplicity of the style of this fragment and the character of the lettering point to the third century' (Anderson).

12. Aï Kuruk. Mendel, *op. cit.*, p. 174 ff., No. 428. See fig. 4.

[1] *γυγμώσι* for *γυμνώσ(ε)ι* may be either an engraver's error or a peculiarity of local pronunciation. The meaning is 'none of my family or kin, nor (after they are dead : *ἔπειτα*) any alien is to uncover my bones and dig up my corpse on pain of eternal punishment.' B. Keil (*Hermes*, XLIII., p. 530) suggested *ἔπιτα ὀστέα [ἀτι]μῶσι*, which is too far from the copy.

Fig. 1.—Montanist Epitaph showing Cross

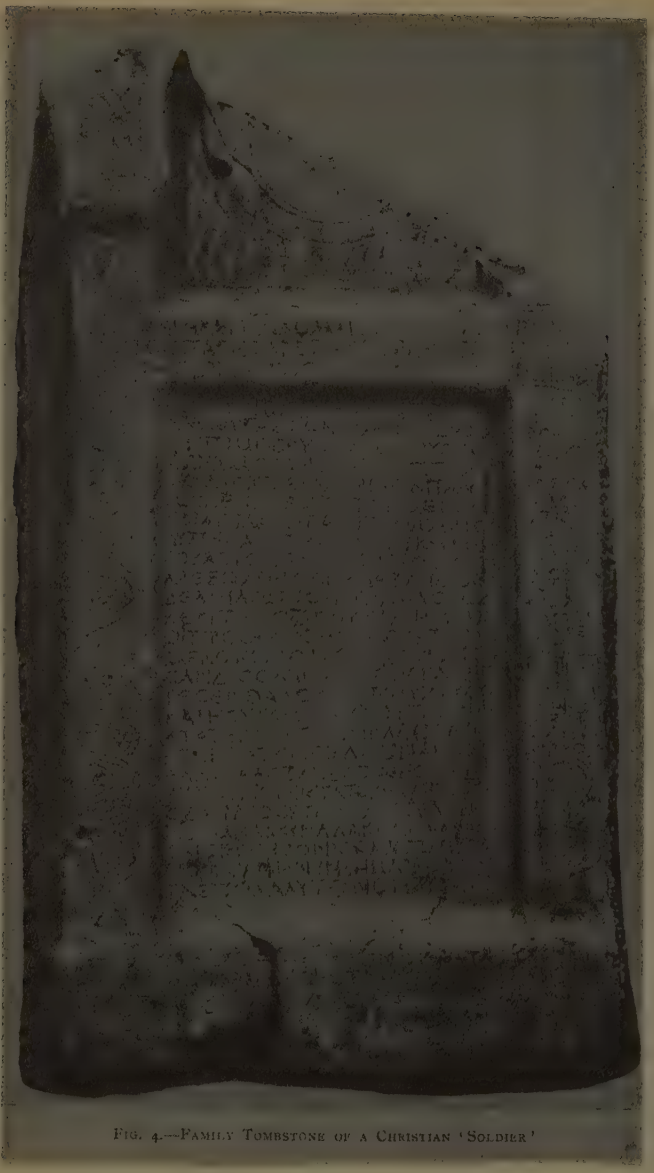


Fig. 4.—Family Tombstone of a Christian 'Soldier'

(*a*) Ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχι Δόμνον μέγαν ἰστρατι[ώ]την
τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς κὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι φανέντα,
τὸν τὰ τοσαῦτα καμόντα κὲ ἐνδοξότατον μέγαν ἰστρατιώτην·
ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν ἔθανον, ζήσας ἐπιτίμως·
Κύριλλά μου σύνβιος ἦν, μετὰ ἧς ἔζησα ἐπιτίμως·
Κύριλλον τέκνον ἶχον, πάνμουσον ἐνδοξότατον μέγαν ἄνδρα·
τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἔθανον, λύπησα δὲ παντας·
τέκνα Κυρίλλου ἀωροθανῆ, ὧν κὴ τὸ οὔνομα λέξω·
Χρύσος κὲ Ἀλέξανδρος· ἀ-
δελφὴ Δόμνου Κύριλλα ἐνθά-
δε κῖτη· Δόμνου ἰοὶ Χρηστιαν-
οὶ πρεσβύτεροι λαοῦ πρεστά-
μενοι νόμῳ δίκεα φρονοῦντε-
ς ἄνδρες ἀριστῆες μεγαλήτο-
ρες· ἐνθάδε Δόμνου Χρύσος
καὶ ἡ σύνβιος αὐτοῦ Τατιανής,
κὲ τὰ τέκνα (α)ὐτῶν Κύριλλος κὲ Ζωτι-
κὸς κὲ Πατρίκις κὲ Δόμνα κὲ Μάρκ-
ελλα, ☙ Ἀλέξανδρος κὲ ἡ σύνβιος
αὐτοῦ Ἄππη κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Ἀλ-
έξανδρος κὲ Τρόφιμος κὲ Δόμνος
κὲ Δόμνα κὲ Κύριλλα κὲ Νόννα κὲ Ἀντι-
οχὶς κὲ Σωφρονὶς κὲ Ἀλεξανδρία κὲ
Τροφιμιανή, νύνφη Μάρκελλα κὲ
τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτῶν ἔτι ζῶντες
τοῖς ἑαυ[τῶν γονεῦ]σιν γλυκυτάτοις,
Χρηστιανοὶ Χ]ρηστιανοῖς, ἔτι ζῶν-
τ[ες ἐποίησ]αν. τὸν θεὸν σοὶ ἀνα-
γνοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσῃς.
[. . . ?λατύπ]ος ἔτευξα.

(*b*) On the right-hand border :—

Ἀρίστων ἀνυψιὸς ἐνθάδε κῖτη κὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κὲ Τροφιμιανὴ κὲ Μάρκελλα θυγάτηρ κὲ Ἀλεξανδρία ἐνθάδε κῖντη· νύνφη Κυριακῆς Χρύσου.

The *stemma* of this Christian family is given by Mendel, p. 179. In the appendix to his *Militia Christi* (1905) Harnack has

assembled a series of texts, drawn from the Christian literature of the first three centuries, bearing on the Christian attitude to service in the Roman army, and on the use of military terminology as applied to the Christian life. The general attitude of Christians was one of disapproval of military service; on the other hand, there were undoubtedly many Christians in the Roman army towards the close of the third century, as the legislation of the Great Persecution and the Martyrologies clearly show. The Montanist attitude to military service is notorious; Tertullian, himself a soldier's son, condemned it utterly, and proclaimed that the only military service a Christian could undertake was the *Militia Christi*: 'non enim nos et milites sumus? eo quidem maioris disciplinae, quanto tanti imperatoris' (*De exhort.*, 12). This accords with the normal Montanist attitude to the Roman State, and it surprises us, at first sight, to find a Montanist proclaiming himself a soldier on his tombstone. But the very language of the epitaph warns us that Domnus was not a soldier in the secular sense; the exultant phrases *μέγαν ἰστρατιώτην* and *ἐνδοξότατον μέγαν ἰστρατιώτην* sound extravagant on this view. The word *στρατιώτης* is clearly used here in the Montanist sense. The line *τὸν τὰ τοσαῦτα καμόντα καὶ ἐνδοξότατον μέγαν ἰστρατιώτην* reminds one irresistibly of the language of the *Acta Martyrum*, but hardly affords justification for claiming Domnus as a martyr.

The similarity of the second line of this inscription to the first two lines of No. 9, in which we have found a direct reference to baptism and confirmation, suggests that here too we should see a reference, expressed in more commonplace language, to formal initiation into the Christian life. For *Χρηστιανοὶ πρεσβύτεροι λαοῦ πρεστάμενοι* cf. above, p. 318, and Anderson's note quoted on p. 340 f.; the phrase *νόμῳ δίκ(αι)α φρονοῦντες* recurs in a Christian inscription of Zemme, in the Tembris Valley, Petrie in *Stud. in the E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 126.

13. Selendi, 3 hours S. of Ak Hissar (Thyatira) Keil und v. Premerstein, *Denksch. der Wiener Akad.*, LIII. (1908), II., p. 58, No. 118 (facsimile). Grégoire, *Recueil etc.*, I. fasc, p. 117, No. 333. On the edge of a 'Grabdeckel.'

[*Ἔτους . . .*] *μηνὸς Λώου ι'· Αὐ[ρήλ(ιος)] Γάιος Ἀπφιανοῦ Χρειστιανὸς κατεσκεύα[σε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ κ(αὶ) Αὐρ]η(λίᾳ) Στρατονεικιανῇ τῇ γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ οὔσῃ κ(αὶ) αὐτῇ [Χρειστιανῇ*

μηδενὸ]ς ἑτέρου ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν τεθῆνε. εἰ δέ τις [ἀλλότριον νεκρόν τι]να ἐπενβάλη, θήσει τῇ Χωριανῶν κατοικίᾳ (δηνάρια) ,α.

The stone is broken on the left side, and unfortunately the date of this inscription has been lost. But, from a study of the lettering and the text, we can fix the date within comparatively narrow limits. Messrs. Keil and von Premerstein regard the lettering as not later than the middle of the third century; and they also point out that the name Aurelius (Aurelia) as used in this inscription, dates after A.D. 212, when Caracalla (by the *constitutio Antoniniana*) awarded Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the Empire, and enormous numbers of new citizens adopted his name 'Aurelius' as a sort of *praenomen*. They are certainly right in dating this inscription between A.D. 212 and the reign of Decius, and it is probably the earliest inscription on our list. But their further conclusion that the open avowal of Christianity 'könnte auf eine Epoche vorübergehender Toleranz hinweisen, wie sie tatsächlich vor der Verfolgung des Decius (249-60) unter den Kaisern Caracalla, Elagabal und namentlich Severus Alexander herrschte' is based on a misapprehension of the character of the North Phrygian inscriptions, most of which certainly belong to the dangerous period A.D. 249-313. The true explanation of the open use of the title 'Christian' in this inscription is to be found in a passage in Epiphanius (*Haer.* LI., 33) in which he is discussing the heresy of the Alogi. These heretics, he says, made it an argument for rejecting the Apocalypse that the Book contains a letter to the Church in Thyatira, where no Church existed. Epiphanius' retort that a Church exists in Thyatira *now* and that, therefore, St. John is a true prophet is treated by Petau (*ad. loc.*) with the respect due to so high an authority: 'sed haec Epiphanii responsio nisi ἀντιλεκτικῶς et ad hominem, ut uulgo loquuntur, accipiamus, haud satis probabilis uidetur. Ac longe melius est negare Ioannis tempore nullam Thyatiris ecclesiam exstitisse; quod impudenter haeretici mentiti sunt.' But the same pious and learned critic makes needless difficulties out of the sequel: ἐνοικησάντων γὰρ τούτων (sc. τῶν Ἀλόγων) ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας, δίκην λύκων ἁρπαξάντων τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀκεραίων πιστῶν, μετήνεγκαν τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν αἵρεσιν, οἵ τε ἀρνούμενοι τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ λόγου τούτου εἰς ἀνατροπὴν κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ ἐστρατεύοντο. Νῦν δὲ διὰ τὸν κύριον ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, μετὰ χρόνον ἔκ-

ατον δεκαδύο ἐτῶν, ἔστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, καὶ αὔξει, καὶ ἄλλαι τινες ἐκεῖσε τυγχάνουσι· τότε δὲ ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία ἐκενώθη εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φρύγας. The blundering Father appears in this passage to confuse the Alogi with the Montanists; but Petau surely missed the plain sense of the passage when he took ἕκατον δεκαδύο ἔτη as intended to cover the time between A.D. 375, when Epiphanius was writing, and the date of the composition of the Apocalypse. What Epiphanius means is that 112 years before he wrote (i.e. in A.D. 263) the Church of Thyatira had turned Montanist, but that now, in A.D. 375, it was again orthodox. This statement is so manifestly in accord with what we have learned regarding the religious situation in Northern Phrygia and on the Lydian border at this very period, that it must be accepted, even if Epiphanius goes on to say that the lapse of Thyatira was fated to occur ninety-three years after the resurrection of the Saviour, which is simple nonsense. Two facts speak for themselves: Epiphanius states that the Church in Thyatira was entirely Montanist in A.D. 263; and a third-century Christian inscription found near Thyatira makes open profession of Christianity. I may add that I noticed the Thyatira inscription only after the above lecture was written and delivered.

To the indications of date pointed out by Messrs. Keil and von Premerstein it may be added that the provision for a fine to be paid to the κατοικία points to an early period, when the pagan forms were being strictly followed. In South-western and Central Phrygia the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν appears to have been developed about the middle of the third century; among the inscriptions in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, it appears on the following dated monuments: No. 372 (A.D. 249); No. 448 (A.D. 253); No. 449 (A.D. 256); No. 388 (A.D. 259); Nos. 375 and 652 (A.D. 260); No. 365 (A.D. 264), and it appears on many undated inscriptions which fall in the period A.D. 250-300. Ramsay observes (p. 516) that the prescription of a double penalty, civil and religious, probably belongs to the years A.D. 220-50, although only one dated example of the double penalty has been found (No. 385; A.D. 254). We may add that the earliest dated inscription in Ramsay's collection No. 656 (A.D. 216), and its elder brother, the tombstone of Avircius Marcellus (No. 657; *ca.* A.D. 200), both prescribe only a fine. This is exactly what our study of early Christian sepulchral practice has led

us to expect ; of the two methods in pagan use, the fine and the *devotio*, the former could be used by Christians, without violation of principle, from the earliest period ; the latter had to be avoided until a *devotio* of Christian type had been evolved. The fine-formula on the Thyatiran inscription is accordingly an additional mark of early date, and strengthens our case for placing it first in the series of ' open profession ' epitaphs.

These remarks form an appropriate introduction to the text of another inscription of Thyatira, published by Conze and Schuchhardt in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV., p. 237 (= *C.I.G.*, 3518, from an imperfect impression) to which no reference is made in the first fascicule of Grégoire's *Recueil*. This inscription is an epitaph ; the formula of dedication is unfortunately lost, and we are deprived of the help of the nomenclature in fixing the date. The copy in *Ath. Mitt.* is set up in type, which is unreliable as a guide ; but the type used suggests second or third-century lettering. The significant part for our purpose is the penalty-clause, which runs as follows : *εἰ δέ τις ἐνάντιον ποιήσει τούτων, τὸν κρείνοντα ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς θεὸν κεχολωμένον ἔχοιτο καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν καὶ ὑποκείσεται τῇ Θυατειρηνῶν πόλει προστείμῳ* (δηναρίοις) *βφ'. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντίγραφον ἐτέθη εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον Ἀντωνίου Αἰλιανοῦ, καθὼς προγέγραπται ἐπὶ τόπων.*

The formula (*θεῶν*) *κεχολωμένων τύχοιτο* or (*θεοὺς*) *κεχολωμένους ἔχοιτο* was very common in pagan *devotiones*, but I do not think that the idea expressed in *τὸν κρείνοντα ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς θεόν*, which is found in indubitably Christian epitaphs (see my note in *Rev. de Phil.*, 1912, p. 68 f.), can be paralleled from a pagan inscription. The addition of *τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν* is not conclusive in itself—Menander had written *βροτοῖς ἅπασιν ἡ συνείδησις θεός*—but its combination with a Christian formula guarantees its Christian character in this text. The double formula prescribing a civil as well as a religious penalty is, as we have seen, characteristic of Christian inscriptions of the early third century. I venture to think that few epigraphists, who compare this inscription with the pagan and the Christian inscriptions from the neighbouring Phrygian cities published in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, will feel any doubt that it must be classed as Christian. It witnesses to the presence of the ' disguised ' type of Christian burial at Thyatira in the early third century.

14. Apamea. Ramsay, *C.B.Phr.*, p. 536, no. 393.

Αὐρ. Πρόκλος Ζωτικοῦ ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρῷον ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου Μελτίνῃ Χρειστιανῶν.

Ramsay (p. 491) notes that this inscription stands above ground 'not far from the public road leading from Apamea S., not much more than a mile from the city, and probably in its original position.' Its date is unfortunately quite uncertain. The dated examples, and other considerations, fix the period to which the North Phrygian inscriptions belong; this isolated example from Central Phrygia cannot be quoted with confidence as pre-Constantinian. The combination of the prænomen Aurelius with the Greek formula of affiliation suggests a date not later than the early fourth century; within this limit there is room for a post-Constantinian date. If it belongs to the third century, the inscription is an isolated example of Montanist custom in an orthodox environment.

15. Apollonia. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 380, no. 555. Cf. Ramsay, *C.B.Phr.*, p. 537.

Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Αὐξάνοντος τρὶς Δομετίου τῷ πατρὶ Αὐρ. Αὐξάνοντι τρὶς Δομετίου βουλευτῇ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Αὐρ. Δόμνῃ Εὐρήμονο[ς Λ]ικινίου οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς καὶ Αὐξάνων [κ]αὶ Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων ἔ(γ)γονος [ἐ]ποίησαν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὑστέρα Αὐρ. Ἀμμία Ναιτήνη β' Ρ(ό)δωνος Αὐρ. Αὐξάνοντι Ζουλακίῳ βουλευτῇ δὶς Δομετίου καὶ τῇ γυνεκὶ αὐτο[ῦ] τῇ πρώτῃ Αὐρ. Δόμνῃ Δούλου Διογένου Χρηστιανοῦ τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις γονῖσιν μνήμης χάριν.

Sterrett notes that the reading Χρηστωανοῦ is certain; Ramsay read Χρηστιανοῦ (*loc. cit.*). These conflicting statements, expressed briefly and dogmatically, suggest a preference for Χρηστωανοῦ, on the principle *potior lectio difficilior*; and I have asked Sir W. M. Ramsay to state whether he re-examined the stone with particular reference to Sterrett's reading. He replies: 'I went to Senirghent expressly to verify Χρηστωανοῦ and found that Ω had been corrected to I. This is clear and certain. I is clearer and deeper than original Ω and obliterates the middle bar of the original.'

The reading Χρηστιανοῦ must therefore be accepted as the final intention of the engraver. But his initial 'mistake' suggests a doubt whether the name Χρηστωνιανός, mentioned by Sterrett, was not intended.

The difficulty of taking Χρηστιανός here in the sense of 'Christian' is obvious. An epitaph in which the grandfather of one of the dead is singled out as a Christian is not only unique; it comes near to being absurd. It is true that some of the names in this family tree suggest Christian nomenclature; Artemon, Auxanon, Domna, Zotikos, and Ammia are all common Christian names in this region. But the argument from nomenclature must be applied with great caution. It is true that as time went on a distinctive Christian nomenclature was developed; but in the third and fourth centuries 'Christian names' are common in many districts simply because these districts became almost solidly Christian, and the local family names appear over and over again on Christian tombstones. For example, the above inscriptions from the Tembris Valley suggest that certain names which occur over and over again were favoured by Christians. An inscription from the same valley (Souter, in *Class. Rev.*, 1896, p. 420; Petrie, in *Stud. in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 126), an epitaph based on the Homeric 'Midas' epigram, to a child Proklos who was 'slain by Poseidon's own trident by the streams of Tembrogius,' and clearly pagan, was dedicated by a family consisting of Menandros, Appes, Trophimus, Menandros, Kyrilla, Domna and Tatianes: and these names are as typical of pagan as of Christian inscriptions in this neighbourhood. In view of such facts, it is better to preserve a healthy scepticism regarding the Apollonia inscription, and I have refrained from basing any argument on it.[1] It belongs, like No. 14, to the third or early fourth century.

B. Christian Symbolism on the Monuments.

It has been pointed out above, p. 316, that a distinctive symbolism hardly appears on the pre-Constantinian Christian monuments of Asia Minor. The Christians purchased their tombstones from the same workshops as their pagan neighbours; at most the Christian stones show a tendency to avoid pagan religious symbolism, except where it could be given a Christian meaning, as in the case of the fish (scarce in Phrygia but common in Isauria)[2] and the vine. But this was only

[1] It may be noted that the fact that Aurelius Auxanon Zoulakios was twice married would forbid us to class him as a Montanist, even if the inscription were Christian.

[2] On the fish see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 541; Miss Ramsay in *Stud. in the E. Rom. Prov.*, pp. 8, 23 f., 54; and my note in *J.R.S.*, 1912, p. 247.

a tendency ; a startling exception is No. 4, which is engraved on a monument decorated with a pair of lions, the characteristic emblem of Cybele. The general form of the Tembris valley monuments, pagan and Christian, has been described by Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 193 f. ; and Crowfoot, *A.B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 79 ff., and Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1905, p. 209 ff. and 294 ff. have discussed points of detail. I add a brief note on the three monuments illustrated here (Figs. 2, 3, 4).

Fig. 2 shows decoration which is in several respects an interesting anticipation of later Christian design. The rosettes at the top are very characteristic of fourth-century Christian monuments, and have been explained by Ramsay as symbolic representations of the stars of the Apocalypse. The vine decoration on the borders is also interesting : the vine, often associated with the cross in a manner suggesting a reference to *John* 15, 5, is a favourite Christian device.[1] Here the vine tendril appears to rise, on either side, out of a vessel which Mendel has explained as a vase ; a more probable interpretation, I think, is that these vessels represent the cups used in the Eucharist. The crosses at the top of this monument and of fig. 3 have been discussed above, p. 318.

The vine recurs in fig. 3, which also represents the stock agricultural motives of teams of oxen, and a pruning-hook, along with a spindle and distaff. This monument, and that represented on fig. 4, contain examples of a device which Ramsay has interpreted at different times as a book (here no doubt a bible) and as the *tabellae* of a contract, symbolising the Covenant (see the references given by Anderson, p. 203).

C. The Use of the Title Χριστιανός or Χρηστιανός in Epitaphs.

The unique character of the ' Christians to Christians ' inscriptions will be more fully appreciated as the result of an enquiry into the use of the title ' Christian ' in Christian epitaphs. Examples of this use are exceedingly rare. The above inscriptions (Nos. 14 and 15 being of doubtful date, and No. 15 of doubtful Christianity) exhaust the list of pre-Constantinian examples in Asia Minor. In pagan inscriptions of Asia Minor belonging to the same period the title is used certainly once and probably twice. It occurs (unfortunately only the letters

[1] See my note in *Rev. de Phil.*, 1922, p. 122 f.

στιανούς are preserved on the stone) in the well-known anti-Christian petition of Arycadna in Lycia (*C.I.L.*, III., suppl. 2, 12132) dated A.D. 311. And it almost certainly occurs, in the form Χρηστιανῶν, in a fragmentary inscription of Didyma (*C.I.G.*, 2883*d*), which Grégoire (*Mélanges Holleaux*, 1913) has very ingeniously restored as a record of the consultation by Galerius of the oracle of Apollo in A.D. 303, when he was inciting Diocletian to persecute the Christians.[1] The form Χρηστιανῶν is doubtless used *in contumeliam* (see below) and this form, not Χρι]στιανῶν which all editors adopt, should be restored in the Arycadna petition. In post-Constantinian epigraphy, when it became both safe and fashionable to profess the Christian religion on tombstones, the use of the title 'Christian' was even rarer.

Waddington (on Le Bas, No. 783 = No. 7 above) quotes texts which show that the spelling of the title had not been definitely fixed in popular use in the pre-Constantinian period. Tertullian wrote (*Apol. adv. gent.*, 3) 'sed et cum perperam chrestianus pronuntiatur a uobis, nam nec nominis certa est notitia apud uos, de suauitate et benignitate compositum est'; and so Suetonius had written (*Claud.* 25) 'Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' Even in the early part of the fourth century Lactantius could write (IV., 7, 5, p. 444) 'sed exponenda huius nominis ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere.' The word 'ignorantium' indicates that the error complained of was at least shared by the Christians, and Blass has more recently collected abundant evidence (*Hermes*, XXX., p. 465 ff.) that the spelling 'Chrestianus' was in common use not only among pagans (who naturally substituted a word known to them for the unfamiliar Χριστός) but also among Christians in the pre-Constantinian period and later.

He points out that Χρηστιανός is the common form in the early Christian inscriptions of Syracuse and that Χρηστός is the spelling of the name of Christ on an Egyptian magic papyrus and on an amulet (cf. φιλοχρήστορα in No. 9). It is interesting that the same form

[1] M. Grégoire (*Recueil etc.*, add. et corr.) warns us that M. Roussel reads εὐ]χρηστίαν in this inscription, thus eliminating the mention of the Christians. I agree with Leclercq (Cabrol, *Dict.*, IV., p. 812) in preferring Grégoire's restoration as at any rate nearer the truth.

is used in the well-known Marcionite inscription of Lebaba, dated A.D. 318 (Le Bas-Waddington, No. 2558); on a Gnostic inscription of Rome (C.I.G. 9595*a*) the name of Christ is unfortunately written in abbreviation.[1]

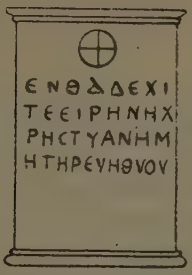
While we should allow for the possibility of itacistic error in the inscriptions of the Tembris Valley, the form Χρηστιανός is so common that we must regard its use as deliberate. The variation between Χριστιανός and Χρειστιανός in our inscriptions is a detail of orthography.

The correct spelling Χριστιανός occurs in No. 1, dated A.D. 279, and No. 11, which also contains the correct form, has been marked as an early inscription by Anderson (it should probably be dated A.D. 250-275). On the other hand, Nos. 2 (A.D. 249) and 13, which are among the earliest inscriptions on our list, have the form Χρειστιανός. No. 3 has also an early appearance; the dates of Nos. 5 and 14, which also give this form, are doubtful. We are warned against classing all the inscriptions which have the spelling Χρειστιανός along with Nos. 2 and 13 by the epitaph of Eugenius (*J.R.S.*, 1920, p. 44) dated *ca.* A.D. 340, which also uses this form; indeed it occurs sporadically till much later. It occurs on an inscription of Mylasa (Grégoire, *Recueil etc.*, No. 239 *ter*: Παρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου καὶ Εὐ[πλ]ου Χρειστι[ανοῦ, which probably belongs to the latter half of the fourth century. Even the name of Christ is similarly spelt (Χρειστέ) on the well-known ἄνγελος inscription of Melos (Grégoire, No. 209) which probably dates between A.D. 325 and 350, and it was a possible spelling as late as the eleventh century: cf. Χρειστοῦ on an inscription of A.D. 1058 (Grégoire, No. 336).

The form Χρηστιανός, complained of by Tertullian and Lactantius, is the commonest form in the Tembris Valley, and is specially characteristic of the inscriptions which betray the lowest level of education. It occurs in no dated Christian inscription; if it is to be read in the Didyma fragment, where it would naturally convey a suggestion of contempt, it is attested in pagan use about A.D. 300. It, too, lasted on in Christian use, as, for example, in the following unpublished inscription of the fifth century.

[1] There is an undoubted reference to this spelling of the name in line 16 of the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus: *οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα.*

Ak Ören (Anzoulada); Ramsay and Calder, 1910. On a small round pillar; above the inscription, a cross in a circle.



Ἐνθάδε χῖ-
τε(=κεῖται) Εἰρήνη Χ-
ρηστυανὴ μ-
ήτηρ Εὐηθύου

This inscription belongs to a Christian town in the Lycaonian Steppe, west of Lake Tatta (whose ancient name we recovered from an unpublished boundary-stone) where Ramsay and the writer copied a number of Christian epitaphs in 1910. We found no inscription here which can be dated earlier than about A.D. 400, and the present inscription may confidently be placed in the fifth century. Ramsay (*Luke the Physician*, p. 337) has dated the earliest use of the opening formula ἐνθάδε κεῖται (copied from Latin *hic iacet*) late in the fourth century; the use of this formula here, together with the equally late use of the single names, dates this occurrence of Χρηστ(ι)ανός after A.D. 400. A similar inference, as we have seen above (p. 318), is to be drawn from the open use of the cross.

The form Χριστιανός occurs twice in our pre-Constantinian Phrygian inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 11); elsewhere I know this form, in an epitaph, only at Corycus in Cilicia (*C.I.G.*, 9172) *ca.* A.D. 400. Its use as applied to the Emperors at Ephesus, etc. (Grégoire, Nos. 114 *bis* and 114 *ter*) is different.

In the above list, which I have attempted to make exhaustive, out of 19 Anatolian epitaphs of the first five centuries, in which the dead are described as Christians, 13 are pre-Constantinian, 4 are post-Constantinian,[1] and 2 are doubtful.[2] These figures, better than any words,

[1] I.e. the inscriptions of Mylasa, Anzoulada, and Corycus, and the epitaph of Eugenius (of Laodicea Combusta). The last is strictly not a case in point; Eugenius does not describe himself as a Christian, but tells how he maintained his faith (τὴν τῶν Χρειστιανῶν πίστιν φυλάσσων) in the Great Persecution.

[2] Nos. 14 and 15.

emphasize the unique position occupied by the Tembris Valley epitaphs in Early-Christian Epigraphy, and their peculiar significance as historical documents.

Addendum.

Holl's *Epiphanius* (*Ancoratus und Panarion*), vol. II. (1922), reached me after the above article was in type. Professor Holl (p. 307) comes to substantially the same conclusion as that stated on p. 346 above, regarding the 112 years mentioned by Epiphanius, whom I have quoted from Oehler's text. His alteration of the following words to ἔστιν <ἐκεῖ> ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ αὔξει, <εἰ> καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ἐκεῖσε τυγχάνουσι, implying that the recovery of Thyatira for Orthodoxy was not complete, seems to me more ingenious than necessary; the MS. text means 'and there are other (Orthodox) churches in that region,' a perfectly satisfactory sense. On the other hand, Professor Holl gives a new and convincing explanation of the 93 years which have baffled earlier commentators; assuming a lacuna in the text before ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα τρισὶν ἔτεσιν he takes the 93 years to *date back from* A.D. 263-4, which would agree very closely with the date, A.D. 171-2, which Eusebius gives for the rise of Montanism. It is now generally recognised that the dates given by Epiphanius (A.D. 157) and by Eusebius for the rise of Montanism refer to two different events in Montanist history, and it is a very happy suggestion of Professor Holl's that (according to Epiphanius) Thyatira was Montanist from A.D. 171-2 till A.D. 263-4, and that the reaction to Orthodoxy then set in. This conclusion supports, and is supported by, the archæological argument stated above.

A NEW CHRISTIAN APOLOGY.

By RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

ALL students of early Christian literature are familiar with the recovery in modern times of the lost *Apology of Aristides*, an oration which was presented to or recited before one of the Roman emperors by an Athenian philosopher, probably on one of the Imperial visits to the East. It will be remembered that the discovery was almost of the nature of a romance, for after a fragment of the lost book had been published by the Armenian fathers at Venice, and the Syriac translation of the original had been found by myself on Mount Sinai, the Greek text itself, slightly modified, was found embedded in the Christian novel which passes under the name of the history of Barlaam and Joasaph: this discovery, due to Dr. Armitage Robinson, raised research into the region of romance in more senses than one.

Since then portions of the original Greek text, not borrowed by a novel writer, but detached from the *Apology* itself, have been coming to light among the papyri which have been exhumed from the ruins of Oxyrhyncus, where so much of the remains of Christian and of Pagan literature has been found. And so the romance in research continues and the unexpected persists in happening. But it will be admitted that the highest point touched in this particular quest and recovery was the identification of the major part of the lost book in the pages of *Barlaam and Joasaph*. Our first flight took us to Venice, our second to Sinai, the last to St. Saba. As one discovery commonly leads to another it will be profitable to recall some of the main features of the composition of that story. The place of its production, as we have suggested above, was probably the Monastery of St. Saba, not far from Jerusalem in one direction, nor from the Dead Sea in another. The author was, on the same supposition, the famous saint and

great Christian philosopher, known as John of Damascus. John of Damascus, then, in the eighth century, is, very nearly, the first religious novelist ; and if we make exceptions of those stories of Peter and Paul which go under the name of the *Clementine Recognitions*, we may call *Barlaam and Joasaph* the first Christian romance. From one point of view it might equally be called a Buddhist novel, for the young hero, whose spiritual adventures are recited, makes a Great Renunciation in the Buddhist manner, is himself described as an Indian prince, and quotes folk-tales for which there are Indian parallels. He is converted to the Christian faith by a monk from far-away Egypt, disguised as a pedlar, who under the pretence of showing the young prince a priceless pearl which he possesses, offers him the Pearl of the Faith, and persuades him to its acceptance. The natural result of the conversion of the prince is an upheaval in the palace ; fruitless attempts are made to win him back to paganism, equally fruitless efforts to raise a hue-and-cry and capture the monk pedlar, who has now slipped away, and gone off to his original hermitage. The way in which the *Apology of Aristides* is introduced is very ingenious. An agent is found by the officials of the palace, whose personal appearance closely resembles that of the lost monk Barlaam ; his name is Nachor, and he is instructed to defend the action of the young prince, and the faith which he has embraced, before the wise men and philosophers of the Court, the king himself and the young prince being present ; he is to make such a poor exposition of the Christian faith that the young prince will be ashamed of his teacher, and will disown him and his teaching. As it happened, however, the royal proselyte detected at once that the pseudo-monk Nachor was not his friend Barlaam, and sent him a private message that unless he performed the part of Defender of the Faith adequately, he would himself tear out his heart and his tongue. Under this pressure, what could Nachor do but change his prepared discourse, and recite a more convincing composition, to wit, the whole of the *Apology of Aristides*, with confusion to the assembly of Pagan philosophers, justification of the young prince, and ultimate conversion of the whole Kingdom to the allegiance of Christ ? And it is all so beautifully told that the tale went forth into all lands, and the monk Barlaam and his princely convert Joasaph passed into the calendars of all churches. We have it, at last, in the modern form, in the Loeb Library, translated by Woodward and

Mattingly, Greek and English side by side, the latter an excellent reproduction of the Greek.

A close examination of the story shows that the *Apology of Aristides* was in the mind of the writer from the start, that it is the nucleus of the whole romance, round which the dramatic action is developed. If we keep this in mind we shall now be able to ask ourselves some very interesting questions.

We have pointed out that our literary artist in the Convent of St. Saba had on his shelves one of the great Christian Defences, and made great artistic use of it. But this suggests at once the possibility that some other Apology might be similarly used. For example, there was an almost contemporary Apology, presented, perhaps, to the very same Emperor by Quadratus, the Bishop of Athens. Why should not St. John of Damascus, or some other literary genius of his school, have written another novel with Quadratus or some similar Apology for its nucleus, and so repeat (or it may be anticipate) the success which occurred with Aristides? And why should not some others of the many fictitious canonizations of the Church be traced to a similar literary origin to that of St. Barlaam and St. Joasaph?

We begin our quest by observing a curious collocation in the calendar in the neighbourhood of Barlaam and Joasaph. These two saints are, of course, revered together, for who would make two celebrations where there was such a fellowship between them as the novel records? (One might almost as well disjoin Cosmas from his twin-brother Damian.) The day of their celebration is the 27th November. If we imagine ourselves to be sufficiently pious to revere all saints to whom the Church introduces us, we might recall that before we reach SS. Barlaam and Joasaph, on a preceding day (say the 24th November or the 25th, for calendars vary slightly), we should have celebrated the Festival of St. Catherine of Mt. Sinai. We should not omit to notice in the same conjunction that John of Damascus is honoured at the same time of year. The Basilian Menology says 29 November (the ordinary Synaxarist says 4 December). The sequence of the festivals (25, 27, and 29 November), leads naturally to the supposition that they belong to the Calendar of St. Saba, and may be regarded as a special contribution of that monastery to the Menology or monthly register of the Saints. But how does Catherine come into the same boat with John of Damascus

and his protégés St. Barlaam and St. Joasaph? We propose to show that the story of her martyrdom is drawn upon the same lines as that of Barlaam and Joasaph. We shall find the saint engaged in the defence of the Faith before an Imperial audience and a ring of philosophic opponents, whom she confutes by the very same method as was employed in the other romance; she borrows or imitates one of the lost Christian Apologies, and it becomes in her hands an irresistible weapon.

Let us then briefly follow the story of St. Catherine, as it is told by Symeon the Metaphrast (see Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, tom. 116), or in actual MSS. preserved on Mt. Sinai and elsewhere, and let us see if we can dissect out the *Apology* whose existence we suspect.

Catherine, then, is known as Αἰκατερίνα (Æcaterina) among the Greeks, which becomes by a common vocal equivalence Ἐκατερίνα (Ecaterina) as in the name of the Russian town of Ekaterinoslav. The monogram of the Convent as it appears on their flag or on the monastic possessions is always AIK which the monks explain as an abbreviation of Ἁγία Κατερίνα, in the same way as the *Holy Wisdom* of Constantinople becomes *Aya Sophia*. But this is obviously wrong,[1] and we may content ourselves for the present by saying that her name is *AI Katerina*, or *Ekaterina*, and that it has nothing to do with καθαρός, and has no mirror in itself of her pure soul.[2] Catherine, then, lived in Alexandria in the days of the impious Emperor Maxentius. The editors of her story say, correct this to Maximin, for the latter had lordship of the East, and the former of the West. The saint is thus assigned by tradition to the beginning of the fourth century. Maximin comes to Alexandria and issues a proclamation for a great sacrificial display in honour of the immortal gods. Catherine would have no part in the pagan orgy, but sent to the Emperor to say that she desired an interview with him, which being conceded she began at once to denounce idolatry, and to quote good authors in support of her position. It looks as if we had drifted at once into the Apology that we are in search of. She begins by taking what is called the Euhemerist position, so named after the Greek philosopher

[1] The same explanation in Raynolds, *De Romanæ eccl. Idol.*, lib. i., c. v. 28.

[2] The *Legenda Aurea* has another explanation: "Katherina dicitur a catha quod est universum et ruina, quasi universalis ruina!"

Euhemerus, who maintained that the gods were only dead men glorified. She quotes Diodore, and then Seruch [1] who is said to be spoken of *by one of your own historians*, and then Plutarch. The impression made upon the Emperor is overwhelming. As he cannot answer her himself he summons a congress of some fifty pagan doctors to confute her. Their chief spokesman undertakes the task of counsel for Olympus, and intimates to the Emperor that he may expect some sport from the confutation of the little woman.

He quotes a line or two from Homer and Orpheus, and the saint picks up the offered thread and gives adverse testimonies to idolatry from those same writers and others. Apparently we are now in the *Apology* again. The saint puts successively into the witness box, Homer, Orpheus, Sophocles, the Sibyl, Apollo (apparently from a Sibylline oracle), and Plato. The orator on the other side is confounded. None of his companions ventures to assist him.

They confess their faith in Christ and go willingly to a martyr's bonfire which the angry tyrant kindles for them. This takes place on the 17th November. The tyrant then tries to win over Catherine by blandishments, for she is of royal blood and affirms herself to be the daughter of the Emperor who preceded him.[2] When his caresses and allurements and offers of marriage are of no avail, he tries torture, which is equally futile, and finally throws her into prison to await a second trial.

Meanwhile the Empress Augusta, who had heard what had happened, desired a personal interview with Catherine, and persuades the field-marshal Porphyro to take her to the prison. She is convinced by the saint of the Christian faith and verity. Catherine remains in ward for twelve days, fed miraculously by a dove, and visited

[1] So in the LXX. in Hebrew Serug. We note in passing that Serug, who here comes on the scene, is the father of Nahor whose name is given to the defender of the faith in the *Apology of Aristides*. Again we suspect a common tradition of authorship.

[2] In Cod. Paris, 3809A, she is said to be 'filia *Costhi* regis, quæ post mortem patris remansit in palatio cum parentibus suis. Who is Costhius? Is it an abbreviation? Or is it Chosroes? The metrical life of St. Catherine printed by Halliwell says:—

> "Hur name ys clepydd Kateryn
> The kyngys doghtur of *Constentyne*
> Of Alysaundur, as seythe the Latyne."

celestially by Christ himself, whose spiritual bride she had determined to be. Meanwhile, the prefect of the city, whose name is said to be Chrysasadem,[1] had devised a machine with many wheels, and emitting a horrible noise, into which the martyr was to be cast. She escapes miraculously from the new and noisy motor-car, and the enraged Emperor turns his wrath upon his wife Augusta, whom he consigns to horrible torture. Her martyrdom is followed by that of Catherine, who is led out of the city to be executed, after a brief space allowed her for prayer and for intercession on behalf of 'all this foolish people: let them take example, pattern, lead them to Thy light.'

Her head was removed, and then two concluding marvels; the spectators saw milk flowing instead of blood (they are said by physiologists to be closely related), and a band of angels appeared who took the body of the saint and carried it away to Mount Sinai.

So ends the tale: the last sentence about Mount Sinai is at the first glance an addition, the germ of a new legend, which will presently result in the discovery of the body on the Holy Mountain, and its deposition in the Chapel of the Burning Bush in the Sinai Convent, where the faithful are still privileged to approach the shrine, and on high occasions to behold the exquisitely jewelled hand and headgear of the patroness of the Convent.

But we must not too hastily assume that the reference to Mount Sinai is an addition to be dissected away. There is another explanation for it. The concluding prayer of the saint was an appeal that her body might never be found; and how does this consist with a translation to Mount Sinai? The answer is that the prayer requires a fulfilment in the manner of Moses, 'whose sepulchre no man knoweth'; and Moses naturally suggested Sinai. The contradiction which lies on the surface of the narration disappears when we look beneath it. The finding of the body is a misunderstanding; the body was there that it might *not* be found.

The story of the tortures inflicted on the saint and the Empress is conventional hagiology; it does not rank with the rest of the tale; and we come back to the extracts from the lost *Apology* (is it Quadratus?) upon which we have stumbled, and try to reduce them into order and where necessary to furnish them with explanations.

We begin, then, with Diodore. The saint says that your Majesty

[1] The Latin texts suggest Chursates.

(ὦ βασιλεῦ, as in the opening of the *Apology of Aristides*) ought at least to have recognised the folly of idolatry, by noting what Diodore, one of your own wise men, says as to the origin of the so-called immortal gods. He tells us that the gods are men and were called immortal for benefits which they had conferred. They had proper names and ruled over cities and countries. Ignorant men called them divine and revered them as immortal.

Catherine is quoting freely from Diodore's *History*,[1] Bk. I., c. 13, the very same passages which are transcribed by Eusebius in his *Preparatio Evangelica* (Bk. II., c. 1). We observe that she is frankly *Euhemerist*, a dangerous doctrine at first sight for one who worships the Crucified Man as the True God. She quotes Diodore because Diodore quotes Euhemerus. If, however, Diodore quotes Euhemerus, it is because Euhemerus quotes from Hecatæus of Abdera. An extract from a recent writer will explain what we mean. Drachmann, in his just issued work on *Atheism in Pagan Antiquity*, tells us " Euhemerus published his theological views in the shape of a book of travel, which was, however, wholly fiction. He relates how he came to an island Panchaia, in the Indian Ocean, and in a temple there found a lengthy inscription in which Uranos, Kronos, Zeus, and other gods recorded their exploits. The substance of the tale was that the gods had once been men, great kings and rulers, who had bestowed on their peoples all sorts of improvements in civilisation and had thus got themselves worshipped as gods. . . . *Euhemerus had an immediate precursor in the slightly earlier Hecatæus of Abdera*, who had set forth a similar theory, with the difference, however, that he took the view that all excellent men became real gods. . . . At Rome in the second century Ennius translated his works into Latin,

[1] We may compare *Acta Catherinæ*, c. 4: φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ἀνθρώπους δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγων, καὶ δι' εὐεργεσίας τινὰς ἀθανάτους ὀνομασθῆναι, ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἰδίας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάτων ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίας, καί τινων ἄρξαι χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων· Ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ πλανηθέντας φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς καλέσαι καὶ ἀθανασίας περιβαλεῖν ἀξιώματι with Diod. i. 13, ap. Euseb., *Prep. Ev.*, ii. 1: Τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὲν ὑπάρξαι θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τῆς ἀθανασίας· ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι· μεθερμηνευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, τινὰς δὲ ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν. Diodore quotes Euhemerus to the same effect in Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, ii. 2, p. 59.

and as late as the time of Augustus *an author such as Diodorus*, in his popular history of the world, *served up Euhemerism as the best scientific explanation of the origin of religion.*"[1] Catherine, then, is a disciple of Hecatæus, at two removes.

Catherine then proceeds from Diodore and his Euhemerism to quote an anonymous historian of your own, i.e. a Pagan historian, who affirms that Serug is the first inventor of the Greek religious system. At first sight again, this is perplexing. What Greek historian ever wrote about Serug? We cannot find it in Josephus nor in Eusebius, and indeed neither of these could adequately be described as one of your Greek wise men who wrote history.[2] Bearing in mind, however, that Catherine has struck the note of Euhemerism, and recalling that the real founder of Euhemerism is Hecatæus of Abdera, and that Hecatæus wrote a history of Israel and of Egypt, including the life and times of Abraham, we may fairly say that it is probable that the reference to Serug (who is Abraham's greatgrandfather) and his incipient idolatry, is due to Hecatæus. The quotation which Catherine makes shows conclusively the hand of the Euhemerist. Whenever, says she, any man had done a notable deed, it was the custom to honour him with statues; ancestors, too, who deserved commemoration were also turned into immortal gods, and received honours and sacrifices. We shall presently come across another trace of the use of Hecatæus.

Catherine then introduces 'another of your wise men' to the imperial consideration. This time it is Plutarch. Does he not say that the worship of images is an error? She then challenges the Emperor to acknowledge Christ as the True God, who gave him his Empire and his life itself. He it is who is the eternal and immortal God, who became man in the last time on our account, endured the Cross and death to raise us from the death of disobedience.

[1] Eng. Trans., p. 111.

[2] John Malala (Bk. II., p. 53), to whom we shall have to give closer attention presently, says that it was Serug, of the tribe of Japhet (a mistake for Shem), who was the author of idolatrous Hellenism, *according to Eusebius:* but the editors of Malala and of Eusebius point out that Malala must have made a mistake. He has a similar wrong reference in Bk. III., where, in the opening sentences, Abraham talks like a Euhemerist to his father Terah, who makes images which are *ἀγάλματα ἀνθρώπων τεθνηκότων*, and when he has finished the discourse, he smashes Terah's statuary, *as Eusebius tells us.* Evidently another bit of Hecatæus: for Eusebius read *Euhemerus.*

After an interlude, in which the wise men of the Court are brought forward as defenders of Hellenism, to make through their chief spokesman certain futile references to Homer and Orpheus, Catherine proceeds. She brushes Homer and Orpheus on one side, and appeals to your wise Sophocles, who tells us that 'there is one God, the Maker of heaven and earth and seas. We mortals have in error erected to them statues of wood and stone, of gold and ivory: we think it piety to offer them sacrifices and to hold solemn assemblies in their honour.'

It is easy to restore this supposed extract of Sophocles into regular metrical form; when we do so we find that we have nine lines of Greek verse, which are quoted by Justin (or someone who passes under his name), in his *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* (c. 18), and again in the *De Monarchia* (c. 2): by Clement of Alexandria in the *Protrepticon* (p. 63), and in the fifth book of the *Stromateis* (p. 717): by Eusebius in the thirteenth book of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (p. 680D), and others. They all refer to Sophocles as the author; but we observe (i) that they are all quoting common matter, that is, from a common source; (ii) that the source is Euhemerist in origin, for the worship of gods many as distinct from that of the One God is said to be an error of mortal men, who erect their statues and decree their festivals; (iii) Eusebius, who knows more than the rest, tells us that the quotation is from Hecatæus, the historian who wrote on Abraham and on Egypt; (iv) so does Clement of Alexandria, from whom Eusebius may have derived his information.

We may reasonably infer that all these authorities reduce to Hecatæus, whatever may become of Sophocles. And, as we have already noticed, Hecatæus is the spiritual father of Euhemerus, whose method Catherine is following so closely.

Her next appeal is to the Sibyl, the wisest among women. Does she not speak of one who is to come to this earth free from error and able to relieve men from incurable ills; one that shall meet with envy and with scorn and be hanged in derision? Does not this convince thee, Emperor? She adds to the wisdom of the Sibyl the truthfulness of Apollo, an oracle of whom she proceeds to quote. It tells of one who is mortal and immortal, God and man; one that suffers all things, including the Cross, one that knows how to weep and one that can feed five thousand; my Christ, says the supposed Apollo,

the God who was outstretched on the tree, and raised again to His primal heaven.

Catherine having finished her quotations from supposed pagan teachers, poets and prophets, makes a rapid summary of the Christian religion, its Founder's true nature, His sufferings and His resurrection, the descent of the Spirit, the mission of the Apostles, etc. She ends with the Evangelical appeal, 'Come unto Me.' You have heard Plato's testimony ; Orpheus' lyre, which moves inanimate things, has sounded in your ears : the truthful Apollo has spoken to you by oracle. All ground of unbelief has been cut away.

So ends the apologetic matter which Catherine brings forward. It requires careful study, for it is clear that there is method in its collection ; it is not the haphazard quotation of hostile matter, such as we commonly find in martyrologies. The Euhemerist thread which we find running through the composition deserves special notice ; one can imagine how forcible such an appeal would be to an Emperor like Hadrian who actually decreed divine honours to his favourite Antinous.[1]

Now let us leave for awhile the suggestion of Euhemerism in the supposed embedded *Apology*, and pass on to the question of the relation of the document which records the Passion of Catherine to the romance of *Barlaam and Joasaph*. It will be remembered that we pointed out a suspicious collocation of festivals in the Greek Calendar in the sequence of Catherine, Barlaam and Joasaph, and John of Damascus. When we read the *Acts of S. Catherine* side by side with *Barlaam and Joasaph*, we arrive at the surprising result that a great part of the Catherine story is reproduced, with slight variation, in the story of the Indian prince and his teacher—and a careful examination will show that Catherine is the earlier story of the two, which has been reproduced in *Barlaam and Joasaph*. This, then, is our second proposition, following on the first (viz., that Catherine Euhemerises) ;

> The story of Catherine has affected, as regards many passages, the narration in *Barlaam and Joasaph*.

Take, for example, the opening of the *Acta*, where we have, first

[1] The question will arise whether Euhemerism is not involved in the *Teaching of the Apostles*, where we are advised to be very much aware of things offered to idols, *because it is a worship of dead gods*.

of all, the arrival of the impious Emperor (Maxentius or Maximin, or whoever he may be) in Alexandria, and the decree for a universal festival and sacrifices in honour of the immortal gods. Official letters are sent all over the country-side, and as a result one might see the populace streaming into Alexandria, fearful of the punishment attached to the neglect of the imperial injunction, and bringing with them, each man according to his ability and his good-will to the gods, sheep and oxen or lesser animals for sacrifice. They were stirred to emulation by the Emperor himself, who contributed 130 oxen to the sacrifices, and who hastened to the temple, followed by Senators and officials, high and low, rich and poor. The city resounded with the lowings of the victims and the air was polluted by the reek of their burning.

Now turn to the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph:* we shall find that when the young prince is born, the long-desired heir to King Abenner, a universal sacrifice to the gods is decreed in thanksgiving for the birth of the prince.

The King sends everywhere to gather the multitude to the birthday festival, and one might see them streaming together, animated by fear of the King, bringing suitable offerings according to each man's ability and his goodwill toward the King. They were stirred to emulation by the example of the King himself, who had contributed oxen very many and very fat to the ceremonies.

Evidently this has been adapted from the *Acts of Catherine.* We notice in the next place, that when we come to the last stages of the *Barlaam and Joasaph* story, when Theudas the magician unfolds his scheme for the temptation and overthrow of the young prince, a general sacrifice is again appointed. Royal letters are sent everywhere to summon the multitude, and again you might see them streaming palace-wards with offerings of sheep and goats and other cattle. The King makes for the temple, taking with him 120 oxen for sacrifice ; the whole city re-echoes to the lowing of the beasts, the very air was polluted with the reek of the sacrifices.

It is evident that the author of the *Romance* has drawn upon the *Acts* in two separate situations where a royal sacrifice is called for : the second of the situations is quite artificial, for there was not the least reason for a thanksgiving to the gods, when they had just suffered a notable defeat in the recitation of the *Apology of Aristides:* the two accounts taken together use up almost every word in the *Acta,*

with which the author of the *Romance* was perfectly familiar. This, then, is our first instance of the employment of the *Catherine* story in *Barlaam and Joasaph*. The parallelisms will be more conspicuous if we now set down the Greek texts, and underline where correspondence is particularly close.

(*Acta Catherinæ*, chap. 2.) Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων πανταχοῦ διαπεφοιτηκότων, ἦν ἰδεῖν συρρέοντα πλήθη πρὸς αὐτὸν φόβῳ τῶν ἀπειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πρόβατα καὶ βόας ἐπαγομένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ὀρνίθων γένη ποικίλα, ὥστε οὐδεὶς εὐτελὴς ἦν [? ὃς οὐκ ἐκομίζετο θυσίαν] ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν πάντες ἐγίνοντο τῆς θυσίας· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλουσίους μεγάλα ζῶα πρὸς τὴν τελετὴν ὥριστο ἄγειν, μικρὰ δὲ τοὺς πένητας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἥ τε χεὶρ εὐποροίη, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὔνοια ἔχοι. Μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζε πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταύρους καταθῦσαι φέρων αὐτὸς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα. Πάντων τοίνυν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρ' αὐτὸν συνεληλυθότων ὑπερήσθη τῇ πολυπληθείᾳ τοῦ τε λαοῦ καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὡς μηδὲ καιρὸν ἕτερον ἀναμεῖναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα τε ἀναστῆναι, καὶ τάχει χωρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ καὶ ἤδη τὴν θυσίαν διατελέσαι. Ἔτρεχον δὲ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσα, ὅσοι τε τῆς βουλῆς ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν εὐτελῶν καὶ ἀσήμων, τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἕκαστος ἐπικομιζόμενοι. Ὡς στενοχωρεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐκεῖ συρρεόντων αὐτήν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν, περιηχεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων βοῆς τὴν κύκλῳ περίχωρον, τῇ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν κνίσσῃ καὶ αὐτὸν μολύνεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα.

(*B. et J.*, p. 18, col. 877.) Πανταχοῦ διέπεμπε συναγαγεῖν τὰ πλήθη εἰς τὰ τούτου γενέθλια. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν πάντας συρρέοντας τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπαγομένους τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν εὐτρεπισμένα, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἡ χεὶρ εὐπορεῖ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εὔνοια εἶχε. Μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζε πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν αὐτός, ταύρους καταθῦσαι φέρων ὅτι πλείστους καὶ εὐμεγέθεις, καὶ οὕτω πάνδημον ἑορτὴν τελέσας, πάντας ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο δώροις ὅσοι τε τῆς βουλῆς ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ὅσοι τε τῶν εὐτελῶν καὶ ἀσήμων.

(*B. et J.*, p. 265, col. 1136.) Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν πανταχοῦ διαπεφοιτηκότων τοῦ συνελθεῖν πάντας ἐν τῇ μυσαρᾷ πανηγύρει αὐτῶν, ἦν ἰδεῖν συρρέοντα τὰ πλήθη, πρόβατά τε καὶ βόας καὶ διάφορα γένη ζώων ἀγόμενα. Πάντων τοίνυν συνεληλυθότων, ἀναστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος Θευδᾶ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐχώρει, ταύρους καταθῦσαι φέρων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ ζῶα πολλά. Καὶ ἐτέλουν τὴν ἐπάρατον αὐτῶν ἑορτήν, ὡς περιηχεῖσθαι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων φωνῆς, τῇ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν κνίσσῃ καὶ αὐτὸν μολύνεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα.

Our next example shall be taken from the address of Catherine to the Emperor, which we suppose to be part of an incorporated Apology for the Christian Faith. We drew attention above to the passage, supposed from Hecatæus (or his follower Euhemerus), in which an allusion was made to Serug as the first to introduce the Hellenic gods and sacrifices. As Serug is the ancestor of Naḥor in the book of Genesis, and Naḥor is the name given to the false monk in *Barlaam and Joasaph* who recites the *Apology of Aristides*, it is natural to enquire whether there are any traces of Serug in *Barlaam and Joasaph*, as well as in the *Acta:* and we shall find that the text of Catherine has been again bodily transferred to the *Romance*. The parallel passages are as follows :—

(*Acta Catherinæ*, chap. 4.) Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ σοφὸς παρ' ὑμῖν πάλιν τῶν ἱστορίαν γραψάντων τὸν Σεροὺχ ἐκεῖνον ἔφησε πρῶτον τὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἐξευρεῖν. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ἢ ἀνδρίας ἢ φιλίας, εἴτε τινὸς ἑτέρας ἀρετῆς, ἔργον μνήμης ἄξιον καὶ σπουδῆς ἐπιδειξαμένους ἀνδριᾶσι λέγεται καὶ στήλαις τιμῆσαι. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀγνοήσαντες γνώμην, καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἕνεκα μόνον αὐτούς, ὡς ἐπαίνετόν τι πρᾶγμα πεποιηκότας, ἐτίμησαν, καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῖς καὶ στήλας ἀνέστησαν, ὡς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς τοῖς ὁμοιοπαθέσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φθαρτοῖς προσετέθησαν καί θυσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπενοήσαντο.

(*B. et J.*, p. 297, col. 1168.) Καταρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Σεροὺχ ἐκεῖνος ἱστόρηται τὰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐξευρεῖν. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ἢ ἀνδρείας ἢ φιλίας, ἤ τινος ἑτέρας ἀνδραγαθίας,

ἔργον μνήμης ἄξιον ἐπιδειξαμένους ἀνδριᾶσι λέγεται καὶ στήλαις τιμῆσαι. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀγνοήσαντες γνώμην, καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἕνεκα μόνον τοῖς ἐπαίνετόν τι ποιήσασιν ἀνδριάντας καὶ στήλας ἀνέστησαν, κατὰ μικρὸν πλανώμενοι τῇ τοῦ ἀρχικάκου δαίμονος ἐνεργείᾳ, ὡς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς τοῖς ὁμοιοπαθέσι καὶ φθαρτοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσετέθησαν, καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπενοήσαντο.

Here the dependence of Barlaam and Joasaph upon Catherine is complete. As we have shown, it is one of the Euhemerist passages, and Catherine is the Euhemerizer. But let us see how the passage is introduced in *B. and J.* We are told that such of the poets as had somewhat escaped from the prevalent madness, had said truthfully enough that the so-called gods were men, and that it was in error that men called them gods, on account of their having ruled over countries and cities, or done some trifling service to men ; but this is the passage from Diodore, which precedes in the *Acta ;* Diodore has disappeared in the quotation, but, as we have shown, he was rightly referred to in the *Acta.* Here are the passages for comparison :—

(*Acta Catherinæ*, chap. 4.) Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἰδίας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάτων ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίας καί τινων ἄρξαι χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων· ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ πλανηθέντας φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς αὐτοὺς καλέσαι.

(*B. et J.*, p. 297, col. 1168.) Εἶπον . . . ὅτι οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τινας μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρξαι χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων, τινὰς δὲ ἄλλο τι οὐδαμινὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον ποιῆσαι, πλανηθέντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεοὺς αὐτοὺς καλέσαι.

Another very interesting case of repeated matter in the two legends occurs in the parallel scenes where, on the one hand, Catherine confutes and converts the fifty rhetoricians and their spokesman, and on the other hand, Naḥor refutes, unwillingly at first, the principal pagan orator and his companions. In the former case we are told that an immense crowd gathered to hear the debate and note the sequel. The chief of the court orators begins in an insolent and hectoring manner to address Catherine ; 'Are you,' says he, 'the woman who so shamelessly and impudently insults the gods ? Are you not aware that the greatest of our poets give them their divine honours, and who

are you to have the audacity to wag your tongue against them ?' All of this is repeated almost *verbatim et literatim* when the leader of the rhetoricians in B. and J. challenges Naḥor to state his case. We may compare :—

(*Acta Catherinæ*, chap. 9.) Εἷς τῶν ῥητόρων, ὁ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων διαφορώτατος, εἶπεν· . . . συνείλκετο δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἄθροον εἰς θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπιδραμόντες, ὥστε μαθεῖν ὁπότερον μέρος τὴν νικῶσαν ἀποίσεται.

(*B. et J.*, p. 238, col. 1105.) Συνελθόντων δὲ ἀπείρων λαῶν εἰς θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὥστε μαθεῖν ὁπότερον μέρος τὴν νίκην ἀποίσεται λέγει τῷ Ναχὼρ εἷς τῶν ῥητόρων, ὁ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων διαφορώτατος.

(*Acta Catherinæ*, chap. 9.)

Σὺ εἶ, φησὶν, ἡ ἀναισχύντως οὕτω καὶ ἰταμῶς
εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν ἐξυβρίζουσα ;

(*B. et J.*, ut supra.)

Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀναισχύντως οὕτως καὶ ἰταμῶς
εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν ἐξυβρίζων Βαρλααμ ;

(*Acta Catherinæ*, chap. 9.) Τῶν μεγάλων ποιητῶν, φησὶ θεοὺς ὑψηλοὺς ἐκείνους ὀνομαζόντων, πῶς αὐτὴ γλῶσσαν κατ' αὐτοὺς κινεῖς, καὶ ὅλως ἀποθρασύνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾷς ;

(*B. et J.*, ut supra.) Τῶν μεγάλων, φησὶ, καὶ θαυμασίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ πᾶσαν σοφίας ἐπιστήμην ἐξευρηκότων θεοὺς ὑψηλοὺς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐκείνους ὀνομαζόντων . . . πῶς αὐτὸς γλῶσσαν κατ' αὐτοὺς κινεῖς καὶ ὅλως ἀποθρασύνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾷς ;

The observation of the dependence of *Barlaam and Joasaphat* upon the *Acta* removes some difficulties in the interpretation of the former. For example, when Theudas the magician has been finally crushed by the arguments of the young prince, we are told that he was thunderstruck and unable to speak. When at length he recovered his speech and confessed his defeat, the populace who stood by shouted out, 'Great is the God of the Christians.' Unfortunately, for the intelligent reader, the interview was a private one ; no one was present

except the king, the young prince, and Theudas. It was a careless transference of two passages in the *Acta*; chap. 13:

τούτοις καταπλαγέντα τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπισχεθέντα τὴν γλῶτταν,

and chap. 19: *ὥστε καὶ κράζειν τινὰς τῶν παρεστώτων ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τούτῳ θεάματι, Μέγας ὁ θεὸς τῶν χριστιανῶν,*

with which cf. *B. et J.* (p. 299, col. 1169.) *οἷᾳ βροντῆς ἤχῳ καταπλαγεὶς, ἀφωνίᾳ συνείχετο,*

(p. 300, col. 1171.) *Μέγας οὖν τὸ ὄντι ὁ τῶν χριστιανῶν θεός.*

We might easily extend the argument of the foregoing pages, but enough has been said to establish the connection between the *Acts of Catherine* and the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*. St. John of Damascus had the *Acta* among the sources for his novel, and it is well within the bounds of possibility that he is the author of both works, so similar in their conception and so full of parallel situations. Catherine has acquired chronological dignity; she cannot be later than the eighth century as a literary phenomenon. We have added one more source to the crowd of writers from whom *Barlaam and Joasaph* is plagiarised: but this brings us to our next point, viz., the sources of Catherine herself, for it is clear that she is as much the 'picker up of learning's crumbs' as John of Damascus himself.

Our third direction of research is indicated by the observation that there is common matter between the *Passion of St. Catherine* and the *Chronography of* John Malala.

We have already had occasion to observe that John Malala has the same reference as Catherine to Serug as the author of Greek beliefs (regarding the gods). And we shall find on examining the passage carefully that he supplements it by a reference to *Diodore*, very nearly as Catherine does. This is very curious, and suggests that Malala and Catherine have been drawing from a common source. Here is the passage from Malala for comparison with the Acts of Catherine.

(*John Malala*, ii., 53.) *Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτέρω προγεγραμμένοις [χρόνοις] ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰαφέθ [l. Σήθ] ἐγεννήθη ὁ Σερούχ, ὅστις ἐνήρξατο πρῶτος τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ δόγματος διὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας, καθὼς Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου συνεγράψατο, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάλαι γενομένους πολεμιστάς, ἡγεμόνας, ἢ πράξαντάς τι ἀνδρεῖον, ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι εἶναι ἄξιον, μάλιστα τοὺς ποιήσαντας διὰ δυνάμεώς τινος μυστήρια, ὡς*

ὄντας αὐτῶν προπάτορας ἀνδριᾶσι στηλῶν ἐτίμησαν, καὶ πάντες ὡς εὐεργέτας εἰς θεὸν προσεκύνουν, καὶ ἐθυσίαζον αὐτοὺς τιμῶντες, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν εὑρηκότες, ἢ διὰ τέχνης ἢ διὰ κτίσματος ἢ διὰ σοφίας ἢ δι' ἄλλης οἵας δήποτε ἀρετῆς ἐλθόντας, οὕστινας ἀπεθέωσαν, καθὼς Ῥηγῖνος ὁ σοφώτατος συνεγραψατο τῶν ἀποθεωθέντων ὀνόματα. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄνθρωποι ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τῶν προγόνων γνώμην, ὅτι ὡς προπάτορας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπινοητὰς ἐτίμησαν μνήμης καὶ μόνης χάριν, ὡς θεοὺς ἐπουρανίους ἐτίμων καὶ ἐθυσίαζον αὐτοῖς, οὐχ ὡς γενομένους ἀνθρώπους θνητοὺς καὶ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς, περὶ ὧν ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος ταῦτα, ὅτι ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν οἱ θεοί, οὕστινας οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὡς νομίζοντες δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἀθανάτους προσηγόρευον· τινὰς δὲ καὶ ὀνομάτων προσηγορίας ἐσχηκέναι καὶ κρατήσαντας χώρας· τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀγνοίᾳ πλησθέντες.

There can be no doubt as to an underlying connection between Malala and Catherine; they both quote Serug (i.e. ultimately Hecatæus) and Diodore (who is again Hecatæus), and their quotations are closely coincident as regards the language employed.[1]

Let us look a little further into Malala's *Chronography* for coincidences with *Catherine*:—[2]

The *Acta Catherinæ* relate how a debate was arranged between the saint and the orators and rhetoricians of the Court. They begin the debate by quoting from Homer and Orpheus, and Catherine retaliates, and quotes Orphic verses on her own account. At first sight this seems to militate against our theory of an involved Christian Apology; when, however, we turn to Malala we find the same matter treated in consecutive form, without the intrusion of the contentious orator on the other side, and the Orphic verses are given again as in Catherine. We give the parallels; it will be seen at a glance that Malala is not quoting directly from Catherine, but from some common source which Catherine has broken up and abbreviated.

[1] For the dependence upon Hecatæus we may compare the passage in Ps. Aristeas (another follower of Hecatæus) where it is said: (c. 135) "they make effigies of stone and wood, and assert that they are images of those who discovered something useful for their life, and these they worship, although their senselessness is obvious": (tr. *St. John Thackeray*, p. 31).

[2] These coincidences were first pointed out by Bidez in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. xi. (1902).

John Malala, l. iv. p. 72 ff.	*Acta Catherinæ.*
ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ χρόνῳ ἦν Ὀρφεὺς ὁ Θρᾷξ, ὁ λυρικὸς Ὀδρυσαῖος, ὁ σοφώτατος καὶ περιβόητος ποιήτης· ὅστις ἐξέθετο θεογονίαν καὶ κόσμου κτίσιν καὶ ἀνθρώπου πλαστουργίαν, εἰρηκὼς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ συντάγματος αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμήσεως οὐκ ἐξέθετό τί ποτε περὶ Θεοῦ ἢ τῆς κόσμου κτίσεως, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ὅτι αἰτησαμένου διὰ ἰδίας αὐτοῦ εὐχῆς μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Φοίβου Τιτᾶνος Ἡλίου τὴν θεογονίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κτίσιν καὶ τὶς ἐποίησεν αὐτήν· ἐμφέρεται γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκθέσει διὰ ποιητικῶν στίχων οὕτως·	ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ περίβλεπτος Ὀρφεὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ θεογονίᾳ οὕτω πως εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι

Then follow the Orphic verses, which must be restored to their poetical form :—

ὦ ἄναξ, Λητοῦς υἱέ, ἑκατήβολε Φοῖβε κραταιέ, ¦ πανδερκές, θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσων	ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, ἑκατήβολε Φοῖβε, κραταιέ, πανδερκές, θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσων, Ἥλιε
Ἥλιε χρυσεαῖσιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσσιν, ¦ δωδεκάτην δὴ τήνδε παρὰ σεῖο ἔκλυον ὀμφήν, ¦ σεῖο φαμένου, σὲ δ' αὐτὸν, ἑκήβολε, μάρτυρα θείην. ¦	χρυσεαῖσιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσσιν.

These verses, to which we shall return presently, are said by Malala to be derived by him from Timotheus the Chronographer ; and the intention of their quotation is said by Timothy to be the demonstration that the world was made by the Trinity. Accordingly Malala says :—

ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐξέθετο ὁ σοφώτατος Τιμόθεος χρονογράφος, λέγων τὸν αὐτον Ὀρφέα πρὸ τοσούτων χρόνων εἰπόντα τριάδα ὁμοούσιον δημιουργῆσαι τὰ πάντα.

Now notice that Catherine follows the same line of quotation as Malala does ; for a little lower down Malala is quoting Orpheus again : and so does Catherine.

Malala, ut sap: p. 75.	*Acta Catherinæ.*
περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταλαιπώρου γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς ἐξέθετο ποιητικῶς στίχους πολλοὺς ὧν μέρος εἰσὶν οὗτοι·	*ὁ μουσικὸς δὲ πάλιν Ὀρφεὺς πολλὴν ὑμῶν τῶν αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς θεοὺς) σεβομένων καὶ οὕτος ἄνοιαν καὶ παραπληξίαν καταγινώσκει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ᾗ βίβλῳ περί τε αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔφης, τῶν θεῶν τῆς γονῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συνέγραψε κτίσεως, οὕτω πως καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ματαιότητος καὶ τῆς ἀμαθίας ὑποσημήνας, οὔτε κακοῖς προσερχομένοις νοῆσαι, οὔτε ποῖς (l. πῶς) μάλα προτρέψαι κακότητος ἔχουσιν.*
Θῆρές τε οἰωνοί τε βροτῶν τ' ἀλιτήρια φῦλα | ἄχθεα γῆς, εἴδωλα τετυγμένα, μὴ διὰ μηδὲν | εἰδότες, οὔτε κακοῖο προσερχομένοιο νοῆσαι | φράδμονες, οὔτε ποῖον μαλ' ἀποστρέψαι κακότητος | οὔτε ἀγαθοῦ παρέοντος ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ εἶρξαι | ἴδριες, ἄλλὰ μάτην ἀδαήμονες, ἀπρονόητοι, | ἔμπειροι.	

A comparison of the two passages, Malala-Timotheus and Catherine shows that the latter has broken up a long Orphic quotation, dropping part of the verses, and putting the opening sentences into the mouth of her rhetorical antagonist, with a different meaning from what they had in the Orphic writer.

Now for another surprise. When we proceed to rectify the verses which we have been transcribing, and to put them into a correct classical dress, we call to our aid the great Bentley, whose letter to Mill (an amazing, and occasionally amusing, piece of erudition) is printed at the end of the Bonn edition of Malala; Bentley restores the verses of Malala as follows:—

Ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἷ', ἑκατήβολε Φοῖβε κραταιέ,
Πανδερκές, θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσων,
Ἠέλιε, χρυσέαισιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσσιν,
Δωδεκάτην δὴ τήνδε παραὶ σέο ἔκλυον ὀμφήν,
Σεῦ φαμένου, σὲ δέ γ' αὐτὸν, ἑκήβολε, μάρτυρα θείην
* * * * * * * * *
Θῆρες τ' οἰωνοί τε βροτῶν τ' ἀλιτήρια φῦλα,
Ἄχθεα γῆς εἴδωλα τετυγμένα, μηδαμὰ μηδέν
Εἰδότες, οὔτε κακοῖο προσερχομένοιο νοῆσαι
Φράδμονες, οὔτ' ἄποθεν μαλ' ἀποστρέψαι κακότητος,
Οὔτ' ἀγαθοῦ παρεόντος ἐπιστρέψαι τε καὶ ἔρξαι
Ἴδριες, ἀλλὰ μάτην ἀδάημονες, ἀπρονόητοι.

When the verses had been restored to their pristine elegance, Bentley goes on to say that the oracles found in Malala's *Chronography* (and, we may add, in the *Acts of S. Catherine*) are capable of elucidation from an Oxford MS., containing χρησμοὶ καὶ θεολογίαι Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων. The title betrays the intention; they are oracles which can be read in a Christian sense.

Now comes the surprise: the twelfth and thirteenth of these oracles are those which Catherine refers respectively to the Sibyl and Apollo; only in the book of oracles, the Sibyl is replaced by Plato, the actual title being τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Πλάτωνος) περὶ Χριστοῦ and χρησμὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δοθεὶς ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ Χριστοῦ.

The sequence of the Oracles in the Acta suggests that either Catherine, or the source from which she has transcribed, had access to a collection of Sibylline predictions; it does not, however, appear why the name of Plato should have become attached to one of the supposed oracles.

We are now in a position to move forward in two directions. First we can assist our great Aristarchus to put the verses straight. Second, since we have shown that Malala has access to some of the same sources as Catherine, we can detect some further coincidences between the two writers. Third, we can use the Oxford collection of oracles to suggest to us that the passage of Plato, which preceded Oracle 12 (which is headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ Χριστοῦ) may have stood in Catherine's text.

First, with regard to Bentley. He edits as follows from the MS.:—

(No. 11.) Πλάτωνος.

Γενετὸς οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς γνώμης ἰδεῖν αἰσθητήριον· φύσις γὰρ μόνου θεοῦ ὡς αἰτίου τοῦ παντὸς γυμνὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένου (l. δυναμένη) ἰδεῖν.

Εἷς γὰρ αἴτιος τοῦ παντός, εἷς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' οἷος (l. ἄλλος) ὁ εἷς, καί ποτε οὗτος ὁ εἷς οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ, ἀΐδιος γὰρ ὁ εἷς καὶ συναΐδιος.

(No. 12.) Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ Χριστοῦ.

Ὀψέ ποτέ τις ἐπὶ τὴν πολυσχεδῆ (corr. πολυσχιδῆ) ταύτην ἐλάσει γῆν· καὶ δίχα σφάλματος σάρξ γενήσεται, ἀκαμάτοις θεότητος ὅροις ἀνιάτων παθῶν λύσει φθοράν, καὶ τούτῳ φθόνος γενήσεται ἐξ ἀπίστου λαοῦ καὶ πρὸς ὕψος κρεμασθήσεται ὡς

θανατοι καταδίκως (l. θανάτῳ κατάδικος) πάντα πράσας (l. πράξας sive δράσας) πείσεται [corr. πράως].

(No. 13.) Χρησμὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δοθεὶς ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ Χριστοῦ.

Εἷς με βιάζεται οὐράνιον φῶς, καὶ ὁ παθὼν θεός
ἐστιν, καὶ οὐ θεότης ἔπαθεν αὐτή, ἄμφω γὰρ
βροτόσωμος καὶ ἄβροτος ἦδη καὶ ἀνήρ,
πάντα φέρων παρὰ πατρὸς ἔχων τε τῆς μητρὸς ἅπαντα,
πατρὸς μὲν ἔχων ζώων ἅλκει, μητρὸς δὲ θνητῆς σταυρὸν
τάφον ὕβριν ἀνιήτου καὶ ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ποτε χευᾶ τὰ,
δάκρυα θερμὰ ὁ πέντε χιλιάδας ἐκ πέντε πυρῶν κορέσας
τὸ γὰρ θέλεν ἄβροτος ἅλκει. Χριστὸς ὁ ἐμὸς θεός ἐστιν
ἐν ξύλῳ τανυσθεὶς θάνεν· ὃς ἐκ ταφῆς εἰς πολλῶν ὅλκων

Miris modis haec perturbata sunt; magnam tamen partem in versus suos nullo negotio redigi possunt in hunc modum :—

εἷς με βιάζεται οὐρανιον φῶς . . . .
καὶ ὁ παθὼν θεός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ θεότης πάθεν αὐτή.
ἄμφω γὰρ βροτοσώμος ἔην ἠδ' ἄβροτος αὐτός,
. . . . . θεὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνήρ·
πάντα φέρων παρὰ πατρός, ἔχων τῆς μητρὸς ἅπαντα,
ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν ἔχων ζωὴν ἅλκει . . .
μητρὸς δὲ θνητῆς σταυρὸν, τάφον, ὕβριν, ἀνίην.
τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ποτὲ χεύατο δάκρυα θερμά.

Perhaps we can finish the passage with the aid of the Sibylline books : (cf. Sib. i. 358 ; vii. 275) :—

Ἐκ δ' ἄρτων ἅμα πέντε καὶ ἰχθύος εἰναλίοιο
χιλίαδας κορέσας, τὸ γὰρ θέλεν ἄβροτος ἅλκει·
Χριστὸς ἐμὸς θεός ἐστιν, ὃς δ' ἐς ξύλον ἐξετανύσθη,
ὃς θάνεν, ἐκ δὲ ταφῆς ἀναλύσας, εἰς πόλον ὦρτο.

Now let us see if we can find any further proofs of the consanguinity of the traditions of Malala and the *Acta Catherinæ*. In Catherine's first appeal to the Emperor, she invokes the testimony of Plutarch to support her Euhemerist views. Her language is as follows :—

> Τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ὑμῶν Πλούταρχος ὁ Χαιρωνεὺς ἐπιμέμφεται, πλάνην ἀγαλμάτων αὐτοὺς παρεισάγειν λέγων, οἷς χρὴ πεισθῆναι καὶ σέ, βασιλεῦ.

Where did Catherine get this about Plutarch and his views with regard to idol worship? We turn to Malala, Bk. ii. p. 56, and find as follows :—

> Οὕστινας μεμφόμενος ὁ Χερονήσιος (l. Χαιρονεύς) Πλούταρχος . . . ὡς πλάνην ἀγαλμάτων τινὲς εἰσάγουσιν· αὐτὸς δέ, φησί, τοὺς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν φωστῆρας θεοποιεῖν ἔδοξε, τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην παρεισάγων, ὡς ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεολογία ἔχει.

The passage is a little clearer in Malala's follower Cedrenus :—

> Οἷς τισι μέμφεται ὁ Χερρονήσιος Πλούταρχος, ὡς πλάνην ἀγαλμάτων τινῶν εἰσάγουσι τοὺς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν φωστῆρας θεοποιούμενοι, τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ὡς ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεογονία περιέχει· αὐτοὺς γάρ, λεγει κτέ.

Malala ends his allusion to Plutarch by the observation that Porphyrius in his Philosophical Chronography has praised Plutarch :—

> τὸν δὲ Πλούταρχον τὸν Χερονήσιον Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ φιλοσόφῳ αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίᾳ ἐδοξασε.

From which it is easy to infer that Malala is not quoting Plutarch at first hand, but that he has picked up the reference to Plutarch out of some earlier chronographer. Catherine depends, ultimately, on the same authority.

We can now exhibit the relation between Catherine and her authorities in a tabular form (see opposite page).

It can hardly escape the notice of the reader that, in tracing even imperfectly, the sources of the *Acts of St. Catherine's Martyrdom*, we have incidentally detected the origin of her name. This has long been a perplexity to the faithful. One school regarded it as a diminutive form of καθαρός, the Greek word for 'pure'; another, to retain the vocalic prefix which the saint bears in the Greek tradition, made her to be derived from Hecate. Our investigation suggests that it is

Acta Catharinæ.	B. and J.	Malala : Chron.	Oracles of the Greeks.
c. 2. Emperor's Banquet and sacrifice.	c. II. p. 19. c. XXIX. p. 265.		
c. 4. Diodore (from Hecatæus).	c. XXXII. p. 297.	Bk. ii. p. 54.	
c. 4. Serug (i.e. Hecatæus).	c. XXXII. p. 297.	Bk. ii. p. 53.	
c. 4. Plutarch.		Bk. ii. p. 54.	
c. 8. (Insolence of Orator).	c. XXIV. p. 238.		
c. 9. Orpheus, Hymn to Apollo.		Bk. iv. p. 72 ff.	
c. 10. Orpheus, Theogonia (from Hecatæus).		Bk iv. p. 75.	
c. 10. Sophocles (from Hecatæus).		Bk. ii. p. 40.	
c. 11. Sibyl.			Oracle 12. (as Plato).
c. 11. Apollo.			Oracle 13.
c. 12. (Summary of the Christian faith).	c. II. p. 15, and c. XXIV. p. 10.		
c. 13. Collapse of Orator.	c. XXXII. p. 299.		
c. 19. (Cry of people).	c. XXXII. p. 300.		

an artificial creation from Hecatæus, the favourite author in the *Acta*. This does not surprise us when we know that she is herself a literary fiction. We had something like it in the story of Barlaam and Joasaph ; here the central scene is the one where the fictitious Barlaam comes to curse and remains to bless ; the story-teller lets the cat out of the bag, when he compares Naḥor to the namesake of his (*qua* Balaam or, as we call him, Barlaam) in the book of Numbers. There is nothing surprising in this artificial creation of names. For example, given Serug, in the history of Hecatæus, as a primitive idolator, it was easy to borrow Naḥor from the same source. Catherine, then, is a fictitious name, because her story is a romance. We may now draw the following practical conclusions :—

The author of Barlaam and Joasaph has imitated and repeated matter in the *Acta Catherinæ*, with which *Acts* he is well acquainted, and of which he is probably the author.

John Malala has used a common authority with the *Acta Catherinæ:* this is either a Christian *Apology* or some authority (chronographical or otherwise) used by a Christian Apologist; but Malala does not use the *Acts* directly.

Both the *Acta Catherinæ* and Malala have access to a collection of oracles (more or less fictitious and made in the interests of Christian propaganda). No less than five of the sixteen Oxford Oracles are in the text of Malala.

It is not quite clear whether this collection has influenced the missing Christian *Apology*.

Was this *Apology* that of Quadratus?

Against this there are certain objections which present themselves: (i) the *Apology* quotes Plutarch; now Plutarch died about A.D. 120. It is not impossible that he should be referred to, say, in A.D. 125: but it has an air of improbability: (ii) while the use of Sibylline and Ps.-Sibylline matter, oracles, etc., is easily established for the second century in the Christian defences of the Faith, it remains to be proved whether such obvious fictions as occur in the *Acts of Catherine* were current at the beginning of the century: (iii) there is no trace of the solitary quotation which Eusebius preserves for us from Quadratus, about the miracles of our Lord, and the survival of some of those who were healed till the time of the writer. It must be admitted, however, that this was not a suitable passage for Catherine to employ, and it is not suggested that the whole of the *Apology* has been recovered. So far, then, as the enquiry has gone, the authorship of Quadratus has not been established. It looks, as far as the argument has gone, like some later *Apology* of the second century.

What shall we now say with regard to St. Catherine, and the *Acts of her Martyrdom?* We have shown that these Acts are a companion volume to the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, which was once canonical as well as edifying (the MSS. call it ἱστορία ψυχωφελής) but is now removed from the Calendars of the Western Church, however it may linger in the East.[1] If *Barlaam and Joasaph* are now recognised as capable of classification with *Robinson Crusoe* (for this also is ἱστορία ψυχωφελής), are we not bound to put the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* on the same shelf with them, and under

[1] The Syrian Churches never accepted it, but it passed from the Greek into the Armenian and Georgian.

a similar classification? When the *Acts of the Martyrdom* are removed from the category of historical works into that of fiction, what will become of Catherine herself? Will it not be said that the emphasis must now be laid on the bones and not on the book? We have, in fact, shown that the book, in so far as it creates or transmits a tradition, knows nothing of the bones. It tells us that Catherine prayed that her body might not be found, and that the Lord answered her prayer. So if the bones are there, and we have seen them ourselves, it is a case which to the author of the *Acta* must come under the formula that

'Those prayers are most answered that seem most denied!' When Charles Hardwick of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, undertook in 1849 to investigate the evidence for the existence of the patron saint of the College, he was able to sum up the evidence as follows:[1]

"It is possible that further notices of St. Catherine may yet be discovered, enabling us to speak more positively as to her origin, or at least tending to abate the suspicions, which our present stock of information is calculated to excite."

To this very judicious remark there can be no exception, so long as we bear in mind that the *Acta* are not any longer to be quoted as history, and that the name of Ecaterina must not any longer be attached to the bones in the Convent reliquary, except on the hypothesis that it was 'another lady of the same name.'

The value of the *Passion of St. Catherine* does not consist in its historical references but in the documents which the writer of the legends has incorporated. In this respect their value is greatly increased by our investigation. Criticism which began by regarding the Catherine documents with grave suspicion, as may be seen from the early Bollandist writers, such as Papebroch, and the early ecclesiastical historians, such as Tillemont, will end by disintegrating the documents and separating the good metal from the worthless strata in which it is embedded. The good metal is the lost Christian Apology, as in the case of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, though I scarcely like to regard as base metal such a beautiful work of art as the Barlaam romance, which has supreme value whether the leading characters in it ever existed or not.

[1] *An Historical Inquiry touching St. Catherine of Alexandria*, Camb. Antiqr. Soc., 1849.

Let us see, then, whether we can get a rough idea of the document which the Catherine story employs. The opening sentences, as I suppose, are not yet identified ; we begin with a row of stars, and then plunge into the Euhemerist argument as follows :—

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Your Majesty should have recognised from your own Greek literature (οἴκοθεν) the fallaciousness of your sacrificial ceremonies, performed to images of mere men, as if they were gods, and you should have cast away from you the folly and shame of Greek religion. A perverse spirit has bewitched you and made you blind to obvious truth. In any case you should have been persuaded by one of your own wise men, I mean Diodore, to recognise the real origin of your gods, and not, with absolute unreason, to prefer the indecency of regarding as gods the images of men who came to a wretched end of life. For does he not say that the gods were men, and were called immortal for certain benefits which they had conferred ? And he records, too, that they were addressed by personal names, and that they had rule over countries and cities. Deceived by their own ignorance, he says, men came to call them divine, and to invest them with the credentials of immortality.

Then there is another of your wise Greek historians who tells us that one Serug was the inventor of the Greek worship. For it is said that, in early times, when men had exhibited any deed of courage or of friendship or virtue (what you will) they honoured them with statues and monuments. Men, however, of later generations, who had forgotten the intentions of their ancestors, who had only assigned these honours on the ground of the performance of commendable actions, for which they had erected the aforesaid statues and monuments, now assigned these to men corruptible and of like passions with themselves as to immortal gods, and devised for them sacrifice and solemn assembly.

And your wise Plutarch (of Cheronea), heaps blame on these men, and says that it was they who brought in the error of image worship, and divinised the luminaries of the heaven. Your majesty, too, should have been influenced by these writers, not foreigners, but men of your own household. Be persuaded by them, and acknowledge the one true God, who bestowed on thee this royal rule, yea ! and life itself. He it is who at the last became Man for our sakes, and

elected for Himself the death of the Cross, that he might raise us up from the death of disobedience.

(Let us come in the next place to the testimony which the poets give to the one God who created all things and is over all.) First of all there is Orpheus the musician, who set forth in his poetry a theogony, a story of creation and of the making of man. (Did he not teach, as we Christians do, that there was one God, and that there was Æther and Chaos?) In his verses addressed to Apollo he claims to be inspired by the God, who sees all things, and he expounds the vanity of the human estate in the following lines:—

> Far-shining Phœbus, Leto's son and lord,
> All-seeing Light, o'er gods and men supreme,
> Thou solar ray, uplift on golden wings,
> Now for the twelfth time do I hear Thy call,
> Receive Thy message whispered in my ear,
> And take Thee for a witness to my lyre.
> Of beasts and birds, of sinful tribes of men
> I make my song, men that afflict the earth,
> Mere ghosts that have no knowledge to avert
> Approaching ill, nor skilled when good is near,
> But ever roving with an idle heart,
> Unknowing, unforeseeing and unblest.

(And what Orpheus says of an all-seeing God of Light is confirmed by some verses of Sophocles to the following effect):

(The verses from the supposed Sophocles, quoted to establish the Christian doctrine of Monarchy, as they call it, present no difficulty as regards antiquity. We have shown that they came from Hecatæus; but apart from the third century, B.C., to which this identification assigns them, their Christian attestation is so widespread that it would be difficult to find an earlier patch of Greek poetry in the Christian propaganda.

The case is more difficult with the supposed extracts from the *Sibyl* and the *Oracle of Apollo*. They require a separate treatment in an appendix. The *Sibyl* is a Christian Sibyl, and the supposed *Oracle* also contains some verses from a similar source. When Catherine has finished her quotations, she resumes her confession of faith as follows):

Co-infinite Lord is He with His Father, co-eternal, the beginning

and root and fount of all blessings ; He brought all created things into existence, He adorns and rules and sustains them, with His own hand He fashioned our race, and marked out for us the pathway of salvation. When He saw that we were tripped up by transgression, and had cast from us obedience, the main point of salvation, though He was of the very nature of the Father, He became for our sake a man like myself, holding converse with man, going up and down in the earth to instruct, to admonish, to teach, and to do and undertake everything on our behalf. Further, He accepted death on behalf of His ungrateful servants, and that death was one of utter dishonour. He was spit upon and beaten, the Creator enduring the lot of the convict. All these things happened for us men, that the prior condemnation might be reversed, and the tyranny of sin abolished, and the gates of heaven, which we had closed against ourselves, might once more be opened to us. Nor did He stay with this, but He rose again on the third day, and ascended to the heaven from whence He had come, bestowing on us the unspeakable gift of the Holy Spirit, and sent forth His disciples to proclaim the 'Spirit's' commandments. . . .

By these thou shouldest have been persuaded, and come to recognise in Him the true God, and to be associated with Him who says 'Come unto me, ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will refresh you.' But if these words thou dost not hear, there are those which are spoken by your own gods and poets ; surely thou hast heard the words of Plato the wise, and the music of Orpheus whose lyre, so they say, could move inanimate things ; to thee speaks also the noble and pure Apollo ; expressly and against their will these confess Him to be God, and somewhat of truth has been exhibited by them ; so that all excuse has been taken from the godless if they turned out to be fools, with eyes that did not see, and ears that did not understand.

At this point our Apologist ends. Occasionally it seems as if the martyrologist has expanded the words of the Apologist ; but the treatment of the theme that Jesus Christ is the True God is not very different from that in the *Apology of Aristides:* here also we have an involved Confession of Faith, which ends, as in Aristides, with the Mission of the Apostles to bring the whole world to Christ. The reference to the re-opening of the gates of heaven, which has a familiar

parallel in the *Te Deum*, is not unlike the advice which Aristides gives to the Emperor, to pray that the 'gates of light may be opened' to him.

This concluding appeal of Catherine has been worked over in *Barlaam and Joasaph*, in the passage where Joasaph expounds his new faith to his irate and unbelieving father, as the following extract will show :—

(*B. et J.*, p. 210, col. 1077.) Οὗ τῷ ῥήματι παρήχθη τὸ πᾶν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων . . . καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους δημιουργός, ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐλθὼν ἐκ Παρθένου ἁγίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφετο, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀγνωμόνων οἰκετῶν ὁ Δεσπότης θάνατον κατεδέξατο, καὶ θάνατον τὸν διὰ σταυροῦ, ὅπως λυθῇ τῆς ἀπαρτίας ἡ τυραννίς, ὅπως ἡ προτέρα καταδίκη ἀναιρεθῇ, ὅπως ἀνοιγῶσι πάλιν ἡμῖν αἱ οὐρανοῦ πύλαι.

Cf. also *B. et J.* (pp. 14, 15, col. 873).

Further consideration of the sources of the *Acta* may be deferred : among the questions that will come up for solution, we shall have not only the problem of the date and origin of the Sibylline verses that are quoted, but the more important issue as to whether Catherine's *Apology* has not influenced the treatise of Theophilus to Autolycus, in the latter part of the second century ; but, for a first statement, the foregoing pages may suffice.

THE WARDROBE AND HOUSEHOLD OF HENRY, SON OF EDWARD I.

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ON the Pipe roll for 9 Edward I. is entered "the account of Thomas de Pampesworth concerning receipts and expenses in the household of Henry, son of the king, for the time during which the same Thomas was keeper of the same household,"[1] namely, from 8 February, 1273, to 27 October, 1274. The Exchequer retained in its keeping the five *rotuli de particulis* which Pampesworth tendered in presenting his account, and all are extant in whole or part. The present article is based upon an examination of this very complete little set of documents, made by the help of the members of my seminar in the University of London.[2]

"Wardrobes for the king's children," says Professor Tout,[3] "begin with the wardrobe of the future Edward I.," dating probably from 1254, concerning which we have much information from enrolments, though few of its original records have survived.[4] When Edward became king, a similar establishment was set up for his second son Henry, by that time heir to the throne.[5] The child was only five years old at the time when our accounts begin, and they are on a miniature scale. The receipts, for a period of not quite two years,

[1] Pipe roll, No. 125, m. 2d.

[2] I wish to record my sincere thanks to Miss D. Dymond, Miss C. A. Musgrave, and Mrs. Margaret Sharp.

[3] *Chapters in Med. Admin. Hist.*, I., 256. Cf. also II., 5 and 6.

[4] E.g. Exch. Accts., 350/5 and 350/8.

[5] Henry's elder brother, John of Windsor, had died in Aug., 1271 (*Chron. Tho. Wykes*, p. 246, *Ann. Osney*, p. 245, *Ann. Worc.*, p. 261, all in *Ann. Monastici*, iv., and *Ann. Winchester*, p. 111, *ibid.*, ii.). He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and in 1273 and 1274 the *custos operacionum* there claimed allowances for wages paid to polishers and other workmen making John's tomb (Liberate roll 49, m. 5, and 50, m. 4).

totalled £308 4s. 11d., and the expenses £300 11s. 3¼d. The latter were recorded in two sections, for it was only during the first seven months that Henry was keeping house entirely on his own account. For the remainder of his short life he was living with his grandmother, Queen Eleanor of Provence, from whose resources all his everyday domestic needs were met, though he still had to pay wages, give alms, and meet miscellaneous expenses, such as carriage, messengers, clothes and so forth. An analysis will show how the cost was distributed.

i. 8 February to 23 September, 1273.

(*a*) In expensis hospicii . . . cum panetaria, butelaria, coquina, salsaria, marescalcia et aliis minutis et necessariis expensis eiusdem hospicii, quarum omnes particule sunt in quodam rotulo quem idem Thomas liberauit in thesauro.[1]

£131 17s. 1¼d.

(*b*) Pro cera, speciebus, fructibus, linea tela, calciamentis . . . emptis et expensis diuersorum nunciorum, diuersis cariagiis et aliis minutis et necessariis expensis garderobe . . . sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis.[2]

£30 6s. 7½d.

(*c*) Pro vadiis diuersorum de familia predicta per idem tempus sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis.[3]

£14 1s. 10d.

(*d*) In pondere predictorum Henrici et Alianore et elemosinis eorundem sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis.[4]

£2 4s.

The total expenditure during this period, then, amounted to £178 9s. 6¾d.

ii. 24 Sept. 1273 to 27 Oct. 1274.

(*a*) Pro cera, speciebus, fructibus, linea tela, calciamentis, quibusdam robis emptis ad quosdam de familia eiusdem domini Henrici, expensis

[1] Exch. Accts., 350/15. A household roll of 7 ms., with 3 schedules attached, containing the quantities of wine bought, and the daily expenses of *dispensa, butellaria, coquina, poletaria, scutellaria, salsaria, aula et camera. stabulum et vadia.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 350/16. A roll of 4 ms., its form and contents corresponding for this period with those of 350/18, for the next period, printed below.

[3] *Ibid.*, 370/20, No. 18. A fragment of this, containing the last eleven lines of the wages entries, the sum, and a total 'pro pondere dictorum domini H. et domine Alianore per predictum tempus et elemosinis,' was found by Miss Dymond in a bundle, listed as 'imperfect household accounts, temp. Edw. I.' Henry's sister Eleanor was living with him.

[4] Not a separate roll, but part of the wages roll. For details as to the *pondus* see below, note 2, p. 386.

diuersorum nunciorum, diuersis cariagiis, donis datis quibusdam de familia sua et aliis obligationibus, et quibusdam aliis minutis et necessariis expensis . . . sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis.[1]

£41 11s. 2½d.

(*b*) Pro vadiis diuersorum de familia eiusdem domini Henrici . . . sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis.[2]

£75 4s. 7d.

(*c*) In pondere predictorum Henrici et Alianore et elemosinis eorundem . . . sicut continetur in rotulo de particulis.[3]

£5 5s. 11d.

In this second period, then, Henry's expenses amounted to £122 1s. 8½d., making with the earlier total an expenditure of £300 11s. 3¼d. As more than £308 had been received, it would seem at first sight that the accountant would have a balance to hand over. No contingency so improbable in mediæval housekeeping occurred. The Pipe roll entry closes with a *compotus de eodem debito* which shews how the amount was more than swallowed up. Geoffrey de Picheforde,[4] *tunc custos predicti Henrici*, received £30 14s. in wages, £6 11s. 5d. was spent in preparations for the arrival of Henry's baby brother Alfonso from abroad, and sundries consumed another 18s. 9d. Thus in all a sum of £38 4s. 2d. was expended, and the account closed with the familiar phrase, *habet de superplusagio*. The balance, as usual, was on the wrong side after all.

[1] Exch. Accts. 350/18, printed below, pp. 399-420.

[2] *Ibid.*, 350/17. Ten membranes, lettered from the first to the last by the original clerk as *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., but numbered in the modern reckoning in the reverse order. The roll begins by a list of the members of the household, each with his *vadia*, and then goes on for fifty-six weeks as a *jornale*, giving the daily wages and alms, with weekly and monthly totals, and noting when persons came or went or began to take *vadia* at a higher rate. Alms, varying from 2d. to 4d., were given always on a Saturday, and usually on one or two other days as well. On Maundy Thursday, Henry and Eleanor distributed 2s. 2d. to the poor with their own hands. Every Friday a sum, usually 16d. or 17d., but rising to 2s. 8d. on Good Friday, was assigned *in elemosinis pro pondere domini H. et sororis sue*. On the 56th Friday, when Henry was dying or dead, the usual entry was made, but was crossed out, and replaced by *pro pondere domine Alianore*, 8*d*.

[3] With the wages in 350/17.

[4] I have timorously kept the names as they most commonly appear in the records, without supplying a modern equivalent. Almost certainly, however, Geoffrey came from Pitchford, Shropshire, a mile from Acton Burnell, and was a neighbour and friend or protégé of Robert Burnell.

The dry bones provided by the Pipe roll summary can be clothed with flesh from the original accounts. Henry's household was evidently very similar to others of the time, but had some peculiarities. A general superintendence over it was exercised by the knight Sir Geoffrey de Picheforde, who was constable of Windsor and *custos puerorum regis in eodem castro existencium.*[1] Now a man in charge of "the castle, town and forest of Windsor, the manors of Bray and Kennington, with the seven hundreds and other appurtenances," busied, as the records shew at every turn, with multifarious duties and obligations, cannot have had much time to spare for the affairs of little Henry, or of any of the other child residents to whom from time to time he acted as *custos*.[2] Yet Picheforde's connection with Henry's household was more than merely nominal. It continued whether the child was or was not residing at Windsor. It involved the possession of the counter-rolls of receipts and expenses,[3] one of which, still extant, is endorsed "the roll of Geoffrey de Picheforde."[4] Gifts and payments were recorded as made *per preceptum domini G.*, and the final account was presented at the Exchequer by his "view and testimony."[5] In a list of robes bought for Whitsuntide, 1273, entered in the Liberate roll,[6] Picheforde's name, with a robe worth 45s. 6d., heads a list of names familiar from other sources as those of members of Henry's household, though not specifically so mentioned on this occasion. As we have seen above, more than £30 was paid to Picheforde *pro vadiis suis* in Henry's household account, though this sum was entered in a separate place. That his position was half detached, half united, and not understood by everybody even at the time, is shewn by the curious condition of the original wages rolls[7] of Henry's household. The clerk who first made them up entered Picheford's wage at a shilling a day, and reckoned it in adding his totals. Someone else, however, afterwards went through the rolls,

[1] Issue roll, no. 21, m. 1. He was appointed constable by letters patent dated 18 Jan., 1273 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272-81, p. 3), but writs *de intendendo* in his favour had already been issued on 4 Dec., 1272 (*ibid.*, p. 2).

[2] E.g. Robert Walerand and other young wards of the Crown living at Windsor in 1275 (Liberate roll 52, m. 11), Geoffrey occupied the same position with regard to Edward of Carnarvon, who did not always, or even usually, live at Windsor.

[3] Pipe roll 125, m. 2d.

[4] Exch. Accts., 350/15, m. 1d.

[5] Pipe roll *ut supra.*

[6] 49, m. 2.

[7] Exch. Accts. 350/17 and 370/20, no. 18.

erasing here and altering there [1] till this item had everwhere been removed, while a note at the end stated that each day a shilling must be taken off *de vadiis domini Galfridi de Picheforde que non allocantur*. On the whole, it seems as if Picheford occupied a position corresponding to those dignified lay supervisors who kept the counter-rolls of the royal household in the days of Henry III. Under Edward I. these were replaced by clerical officials, specifically called controllers (*contrarotulatores*), who were inferior instead of superior in status to the keeper of the household (*custos hospicii*).[2]

The second place in dignity in little Henry's household belonged to Thomas de Pampesworth,[3] or Thomas the clerk, variously described as *custos hospicii*,[4] *clericus puerorum nostrorum*,[5] *clericus liberorum regis*[6] and *clericus Galfridi de Picheforde*.[7] There seems no doubt that in all these cases the same person is involved, but, that being so, it is odd to find this clerk married in 1280, when he and his wife were present at Geoffrey de Picheforde's wedding.[8] As early as 1269 Thomas was receiving money on behalf of the children at Windsor,[9] and on 8 February, 1273, he was formally appointed as *custos hospicii*.[10] His robe cost 30s. 8d.[11] and his *vadia* were 4½d. a day.[12] The records are full of his tasks and his travels, backwards and forwards from London, to be interviewed by Burnell, to make

[1] So neatly that his alterations can hardly be seen. This, with the fact that occasionally he has overlooked an entry, makes the arithmetic maddening to his modern reader, but I am satisfied that the final totals do correspond with those in the Pipe enrolment.

[2] Tout, *Chapters*, ii. 35 n. The fact that Picheforde held the same position in the household of Henry's younger brother Edward of Carnarvon, who was not born till ten years after Henry's death, suggests that the changes introduced by Edward I. into the organisation of the royal household were slower in affecting the subordinate households. But the last word upon what either a counter-roll or a controller was cannot be written until more material has been sifted and compared.

[3] ? Papworth, Cambs. [4] Pipe roll 125, m. 2d.

[5] Liberate roll 49, m. 2. I owe this and a number of other Liberate roll references to Mrs. M. Sharp.

[6] Issue roll 27, m. 1. [7] Liberate roll 49, m. 1.

[8] Picheforde dowered Alice his wife "in the presence of Margery de Heddeshovere, prioress of Ankerwyke, and the convent of the same, Thomas de Pampleswrth, and Elizabeth his wife, William de Etone and Richard Syfrewast" (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1279-88, 54).

[9] Liberate roll 49, m. 1. [10] Pipe roll 125, m. 2d.

[11] Liberate roll 49, m. 2. [12] Exch. Accts., 350/17 and 370/20

purchases, or to attend at the Exchequer to undergo the view of his account,[1] or to receive sums assigned to him by writs of *liberate*.[2] Once, at least, his labours were too much for him. After lying ill at Windsor for no less than ten weeks, in the autumn of 1273, he struggled up to London in November to buy Christmas robes for his household, only to break down again and lie sick there for fifteen days. Possibly it was during this illness that his subordinates got their accounts into some confusion, so that when later the returns were made up in final form, they were uncertain to what dates particular expenses should be assigned. The roll printed below, for example, refers undoubtedly to the period from September, 1273, to October, 1274, and within each of its four sections the dates seem at first glance to read in orderly sequence from the beginning to the end of that period.[3] In fact, however, various entries presumably referring to 1273 have dates assigned which would be correct only in 1274,[4] while some dates will not fit any year in which Henry was alive.[5] Contemporaries, of course, would have thought nothing of this. Did not Chief Justice Hengham himself declare, "In the King's chancery and elsewhere, on one and the same day, one clerk puts one date and another another"?[6]

The household under Pampesworth's care probably numbered between 30 and 40 persons. It centred round Henry himself, his sister Eleanor, and their cousin John of Brittany.[7] Each child had his

[1] Below, p. 403.

[2] E.g. Exch. Accts., 350/16, m. 4, *petentis apud Lond' unum liberate de LXl.*

[3] Miss Dymond has made a critical analysis of the 244 dates contained in this roll.

[4] St. Martin's day fell on a Sunday, St. Clement's day on a Friday, and the vigil of Christmas on a Monday, in 1274, not 1273; yet these dates occur in a position which shews that they belong to 1273 (below, pp. 401, 402).

[5] The household offers oblations on Saturday, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, e.g. (below, p. 419). That feast did not fall on a Saturday till 1275.

[6] Tout and Johnstone, *State Trials of Edward I.*, p. 35.

[7] His description in the records as simply 'Brito' concealed his identity, and sometimes his sex, from previous writers. He was born in 1266, and was the younger son of John II., Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, by his marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Henry III. of England. In infancy he left his own family and was brought up with his English cousins (*Siege of Carlaverock*, ed. Wright (1864) p. 10). His elder brother Arthur succeeded to the Duchy of Brittany, while John served Edward I. and II., and was rewarded with the earldom of Richmond. For

own nurse—Amicia de Derneforde [1] for Henry, Cecilia de Cleware [2] for Eleanor, Mabel for John—and the three shared the services of a *berceresse*, or 'rocker,' [3] named Alicia de La Grave.[4] Each of these ladies had a robe worth 30s. 8d., equal in value, that is, to Pampesworth's and second only to Picheforde's.[5] The royal children had the companionship of various young wards of the Crown, Nicholas de Bath, John de Weston, Roger de Sancto Andrea,[6] Richard Cyffrewast,[7] William de Staunton, and Robert Walerand.[8] Their maintenance, with the keep of their horses and their servants, figured largely in the domestic records. All these wards, and also little Henry himself,

his biography see *Jean de Bretagne, comte de Richmond* by Mme. Inna Lubimenko, who was unaware of the references to him in these accounts. One entry on the Liberate roll (45, m. 12, dated 10 Jan., 1269) refers to him as *Henricus, filius karissimi filii nostri Johannis de Britannia*, but this must be a scribe's slip due to the occurrence of the name Henry immediately before.

[1] ? Durnford, Wilts. As 'nurse of Henry, the king's son, lately deceased,' she received on 7 Feb., 1275, a grant of land worth £10 yearly (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272-81, p. 79); this grant was renewed in 1288 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1279-88, p. 520).

[2] ? Clewer, Berks. But in one record she appears as 'de la Mare' (Liberate roll 49, m. 2). She later became nurse to Henry's sister Margaret (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1272-79, p. 296).

[3] Sir Harris Nicolas (*Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 219), quotes from the 'Array of her Majesty's Infants,' in Henry VII.'s time an order that a child shall "be hadde into the nursery where it shall be nourished with a lady governour to the nursery nurse, with four chamberers as rockers." Edmund, second son of Edward I. by his second marriage, had a *berceresse* named Perrette de Poissy (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 37656, f. 4 v°).

[4] Was she that Alice de Leygrave who became nurse to Edward of Carnarvon, and received many favours when her foster-son had become king? See for example Close roll 130, m. 4d. *Nos promocionem Juliane de Leygrave neptis dilecte matris nostre Alicie de Leygrave que nos in infancia lactauit intuitu eiusdem Alicie specialiter affectantes*, etc.

[5] Liberate roll 49, m. 2.

[6] Said to be aged 15 in 1274-5 (*Cal. Genealogicum*, I., 220).

[7] Or Syfrewast. Son of Rich. de Cyfrewast of Clewer. His marriage was granted to Geoffrey de Picheford (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1272-9, 64, 364, *Cal. Pat Rolls*, 1272-81, 83).

[8] Nephew and heir of his namesake, and reported by the jurors at the inquisition *post mortem* in 1273 to be 16, 17, or 18 years of age. He was half-witted, like others of his family, and remained in the king's custody even after he came of age (Liberate roll 50, m. 6, 52, ms. 11, 1, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272-81, pp. 86, 304, and 1281-92, pp. 4, 413).

received *vadia* ranging from 4½d. to 9d. a day.[1] The amount varied according to the number of horses and servants the recipient was keeping at any given moment, and the 'wages' must, therefore, have been rather in the nature of allowances than of pay.[2]

Pampesworth's chief colleagues were Robert de Say[3] and William de Heyton.[4] It was Robert, for instance, who made the necessary purchases in Pampesworth's stead during his illness,[5] and William is seen in the roll printed below accompanying Pampesworth when he went ahead to prepare for the household's arrival at Windsor in February, 1274.[6] Among minor officers were Stephen the Cook, Stephen of the Pantry, Walter the Saucerer, Kenist the Usher,[7] and John the Tailor, whose duties need no explanation. Each had a robe worth 9s.,[8] and received wages of 2d. a day.[9] Humblest of all was Juliana the washerwoman, still earning her 1d. a day[10] in little Henry's household, though she had been laundress to his grandmother, and was receiving grants from the Exchequer in consideration of long service.[11] To complete the *personnel* of the household, we must add in imagination grooms, palfreymen, servants, and hangers-on of all sorts.

How does this organisation compare with other establishments of the time, and in particular with its nearest parallel, the household

[1] Cf. Tout, *Chapters*, ii., 172, on the wards in the household of Edward of Carnarvon in 1301: "the noblest of them took their 'wages' and their allowance in place of dinner in hall, just like the humblest messengers, *coquini* and grooms."

[2] Cf. for example Exch. Accts., 350/17, m. 10, *in vadiis domini Henrici ad unum palefridum et unum garcionem per diem iiijd. ob.* In 1289 and 1290 Welshmen imprisoned in the Tower or in Windsor Castle received 4½d. a day *pro vadiis* (Liberate roll 65, m. 2 and 66, m. 5). Sometimes the rolls make a distinction between *stipendia* and *vadia*, e.g. John the parker of Kennington in 1288 received 1½d. a day *pro stipendiis et vadiis suis* (Liberate roll 64, m. 3).

[3] On 4 March, 1275, he became chief forester of Windsor at a wage of 1s. a day (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272-81, 82).

[4] Sometimes written Hexton.

[5] Below, p. 401.

[6] Below, p. 403.

[7] *Ostiarius camere.*

[8] Liberate roll 49, m. 2. In the same part of the same list occur the names of Richard Hake, Nicholas Horeye, Roger de Windsor, John la Neire, and Odinettus, whom I have not found mentioned anywhere else as connected with little Henry's household.

[9] Exch. Accts. 350/17, m. 10.

[10] Described as *stipendia* (Exch. Accts. 370/20, no. 18).

[11] Liberate roll 49, m. 1, Issue rolls 23 and 30.

attached to Henry's younger brother, Edward of Carnarvon, the future Edward II.?[1]

It may be noted in the first place that there was a remarkable difference in scale. As a mere baby, Edward of Carnarvon had an establishment about ten times as expensive as that of Henry. The accounts kept by his *custos hospicii et garderobe*[2] from 1285, when Edward was only a year old, to 1289, shew an average annual expenditure of about £2,500 on housekeeping, wine not included, to which must be added about £1500 for wages and purchases, making a total for the year of about £4000. In Henry's case, the accounts shew complete expenses for seven months only. If we double this, so as to make a liberal estimate for a year's expenses, the total works out in round figures to £260 for housekeeping, £95 for wages and purchases, or £355 in all.[3] The contrast is too striking to be easily accounted for, though some suggestions may be made. The three most important persons in Henry's household were all children, whereas of the four sisters who usually lived with Edward two were grown-up. Henry, living in Windsor Castle, or in the company of his grandmother, was protected by the much more magnificent establishments side by side with his, and needed no guard or watchmen of his own. There is not a sign of any military element in his household. Edward, on the other hand, may almost be said to have had a permanent home of his own, for the manor-house of King's Langley, Hertfordshire, constantly served as his residence, and was staffed and kept open to receive visitors even when he was not there himself. His equipment, thus in isolation, perhaps had to be more complete. Certainly at four years old he had with him knights, squires, and sergeants-at-arms,[4] and when at six he went to a sister's wedding, he had eighty knights *de secta sua*, a splendour rivalled only by his uncle Edmund, the king's

[1] I have examined, and hope shortly either to print in full or to calendar, all the existing records of their household that I can find. Its organisation is sketched in Tout, ii., 165-80.

[2] Exch. Accts., 352/8.

[3] Accounts of Edward of Windsor, son of Edw. II., beginning at the time he was two months old, shew that his housekeeping expenses averaged £28 per week. The total expenditure on the domestic offices, not counting wine or wax, amounted to more than £580 in the period from 26 Jan. to 7 July, 1313 (Exch. Accts., 375/3).

[4] Exch. Accts., 350/8, m. 2.

brother, who had a hundred.[1] Whatever explanations may be suggested for the fact that Edward's household was larger than Henry's, the degree of the excess seems inexplicable.

Edward's fine household, however, was not so independent as Henry's, if we take direct access to the Exchequer as a test of dignity. Up to 1295, Edward's officials accounted in the king's wardrobe,[2] whereas Henry's had to account at the Exchequer. In this respect, that is to say, Henry's position was analogous to that of his grandmother, Queen Eleanor of Provence, while Edward's was nearer to that of his mother, Queen Eleanor of Castile, or his stepmother, Queen Margaret of France.[3] Or, to put the matter in another way, Henry's household exemplifies the methods of his grandfather and namesake, though it came into existence after Henry III.'s death, whereas by the time Edward's household started [4] his father's methods had had time to make themselves felt. These involved, for good and ill, a closer grip upon the resources and personnel of subordinate households than had seemed necessary to the easier-going Henry III.

Both Edward and Henry were, in their early years, dependent for money upon direct grants from the Crown. Edward, it is true, became at six years old nominally Count of Ponthieu, but with no visible effect upon his personal resources. No doubt Henry would have been in a similar position if at about the same age he had received, as seemed at one time probable, the more imposing title of Duke of Gascony. A marriage contract made on 30 November, 1273,[5] between Edward I. and Henry III., King of Navarre, arranged that Joan, Henry's child heiress, should marry little Henry of England,

[1] Barth de Cotton, *Hist. Anglicana* (Rolls Series), p. 177.

[2] On this see Tout, ii., 166-7 and notes. The glorifications of Edward's household as he grew up lie outside the scope of the present comparison with Henry's infant household.

[3] The wardrobes of these three queens are dealt with in Tout, ii., 42-3.

[4] Or earlier, if Alfonso's keeper also *reddidit compotum in eadem garderoba regis* (Tout, ii., 166 note). But Alfonso's household deserves further investigation. Henry's household did not "become the wardrobe of his younger brother Alfonso" (Tout, ii., 43) for some months before Henry's death Alfonso's household was already set up, in charge of Philip de Willoughby and William de Salinis (Pipe roll 121, m. 22; Liberate roll 50, m. 6). Willoughby became an escheator in 1275, and William de Salinis carried on Alfonso's business, but died in 1278. Pampesworth was put in charge in 1279 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1272-9, 539).

[5] *Fœdera* (1818), I., ii., 508.

and that Gascony should be handed over to the bridegroom. It was also stipulated that "if, which God forbid, any mortality should overtake this our son Henry before his seventh year, which is a time suitable for betrothal," then Joan should marry Alfonso instead. However, the father-in-law to be died in July, 1274, the intended son-in-law in the following October, and any projects for Alfonso faded away when in 1275 Joan was betrothed to the future Philip IV., king of France. Henry throughout his life, therefore, was financially dependent first upon his grandfather, then upon his father. Their provision for him took various forms. Now it was the bailiffs of London who were required to pay a sum out of the city's issues, towards the expenses of the children at Windsor;[1] often an escheator had to do the same;[2] on another occasion some of the profits of the last eyre in Oxfordshire and Berkshire were set aside for this purpose;[3] frequently the royal *captores vinorum* had to deliver a certain number of casks to the constable at Windsor for the children's expenses;[4] and in addition, especially after Edward I.'s accession, there were constant writs of *liberate* to the exchequer directing the payment of sums varying from £10 to £40 at a time.[5] Pampesworth was hard put to it at times, however, for in 1269 he was reduced to borrowing £68 4s. 11d. from John of London,[6] while in 1275 Adam de Bradeham, chaplain, was stating that he had paid £77 8s. to the creditors of John and Henry, the king's sons, during the time in which they were staying at Windsor.[7] The whole financial situation is similar to that which prevailed in Edward of Carnarvon's time.

As an administrative unit, then, Henry's household represents an experimental or a transitional stage of development, setting precedents which in some respects were followed and in others abandoned. The specimen of its records, printed below, shows that more human interests were not lacking, and these will be obvious to the reader without comment. It may be well, however, to sketch Henry's short biography, which has not been set forth in full either by contemporaries or by modern writers.[8]

[1] Liberate roll 43, m. 3; 45, m. 12. [2] *Ibid.*, 47, ms. 10, 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 46, m. 12. [4] *Ibid.*, 49, m. 6; 50, m. 6.
[5] *Ibid.*, *passim.* [6] *Ibid.*, 49, m. 1. [7] *Ibid.*, 51, m. 7.
[8] Some details may be found in Mrs. M. A. Green's *Lives of the Princesses of England*, ii., 277-81, and in an article by the Rev. C. R.

Henry was probably born in 1268,[1] and his early life was spent at Windsor Castle, in the company of his brother John and his cousin John of Brittany.[2] These were the years of peace which followed the troubles of the Barons' Wars, and in the same year in which the child was born, his father signalised his release from anxieties in England by taking a crusading vow. The enterprise to be embarked upon was so large, the expense so heavy, the absence involved so long, that it took Edward no less than two years to complete all arrangements preliminary to the fulfilment of his vow. Among these was an agreement made with Louis IX. of France, by which the French king lent Edward money for the crusade, and in return Edward promised to act under Louis, as duke of Aquitaine, on the expedition. This agreement was made at Paris on 20 August, 1269, and contained an offer to place one of Edward's sons as a hostage in the keeping of Louis, before the next Candlemas.[3] Accordingly, in February, 1270, little Henry was taken to France,[4] but Louis, with a magnanimity very characteristic of him, sent the child home, "fully trusting the lord Edward, without any hostage."[5] His confidence was justified, and in another six months Edward actually started for Aigues-Mortes, the port of embarkation agreed upon.

Before leaving England, Edward made careful provision for his children during his own and their mother's absence, or in the event of their parents' never returning. He chose as their guardian their great-uncle Richard, earl of Cornwall, titular king of the Romans[6]: should he die, the charge was to pass to Richard's son Henry of

Palmer on *The Friar Preachers of Guildford* (Reliquary, New Series, 1887, i., 7-20).

[1] The first mention I have found of him is dated 14 July, 1268 (Liberate roll 44, m. 3).

[2] In Jan. 1269 their *custos* there was John of Reading (*ibid.*, 45, m. 12) and in Nov. and Dec. 1269 (*ibid.*, 46, m. 12) and March, 1270 (*ibid.*, 46, m. 9), Mary of Valoynes.

[3] *Fœdera* (1816), I., i., 481.

[4] Letters of protection dated 20 Feb., 1270 were issued to "Joan of Somery, going to France with Henry" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1266-72, 412). *Cf.* the mention of the same lady below, p. 419.

[5] *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, ed. Stapleton, p. 122; *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Series), iii., 18.

[6] *Fœdera* (1816), I., i., 484, 2 Aug., 1270. *Cf. Chron. Tho. Wykes* (*Ann. Monast.*, iv.), p. 236. They resided at Windsor (Liberate roll 47, ms. 10, 9, 6).

Almaine; if he, too, died, then responsibility devolved upon the four persons whom Edward had named as agents in his affairs during his absence. All the contingencies Edward foresaw, except his own death, were fulfilled, besides others that he could not have anticipated. An extraordinary series of strokes of mortality marked the years 1270-72. When Edward reached Tunis, he found that Louis IX. was lying dead. Henry of Almaine, returning in the spring of 1271 with the French who were taking their late King home for burial, was himself murdered on the way. In August of the same year, Edward's son John died. Richard of Cornwall became paralysed in the autumn, and passed away in April, 1272. Finally, the death of Henry III. in December, 1272, made Edward a king, and little Henry the heir to a crown. For eighteen months longer Edward and his queen remained in foreign parts, and the responsibility for Henry and his sisters fell with other charges to the lot of those who carried on the government in Edward's name, and in particular to his favourite clerk, Robert Burnell. To this official charge, apparently, was added the personal and affectionate watchfulness of the widowed queen Eleanor of Provence.

From the beginning of 1273 to his death in 1274, the incidents of Henry's daily life are almost photographically illustrated by the records of his household. All these give *dominus Henricus* theoretical precedence, but in practice there was little to distinguish him from his companions Eleanor and John. Even sex did not complicate the problem unduly for the clerk who bought, or the tailor who cut, wearing apparel for the three children. Smocks (*camisiae*) of linen, dresses and hose (*caligae*) of brown or black worsted,[1] were made on the same lines for all three. So were their shoes and slippers, and their caps of peacocks feathers, and their fine gloves, furred with 'gris,' or bearing the king's arms on the thumb. Gilded buttons, much in fashion,[2] were bought by the gross for impartial distribution among small garments. Purchases of Spanish soap, fine linen for sheets,

[1] 'Burnet,' or 'black burnet of worsted,' is the cloth usually bought for the use of the children and the royal wards, while the coarser "burrell" was used for the servants' clothes.

[2] When Eleanor in 1290 went to a sister's wedding, she wore a dress renovated for the occasion and adorned with 636 silver buttons (M. A. E. Green, *Princesses of England*, II., 371.

towels for hands and feet, suggest a reasonable standard of nursery comfort, though Henry, like his elders, enjoyed hot baths only in preparation for the Church's three greatest festivals.[1] Here and there on the records is left a trace of some boyish and personal possession ; "a little cart to play with" ; a brooch, given by the archbishop of Canterbury—and soon broken ; two arrows "for the lord's use" ; a coronet adorned with three emeralds ; a gift of trumpets from one friend or pink sugar from another ; and, in the child's last illness, a white palfrey from his mother, which he did not live to ride.

In one respect, indeed, Henry was pathetically different from his two companions. He was a delicate child, overshadowed by the possibility of an early death. Mediæval mothers knew that sons were hard to rear. "I am only a boy, and such easily fall ill"—so Henry III., at four years old, was represented as saying.[2] For confirmation of that doctrine, one need only glance at the frequent mention in household accounts of invalids requiring medicine and nursing,[3] or note the constant provision of alternatives in marriage contracts lest the young things named in them should not live to marriageable age. Queen Eleanor of Castile had already lost one of her children, and was to lose four more. A devoted wife, she is in tradition a devoted mother also, and it is true that during her absence messengers arrived at intervals with enquiries as to the children's health.[4] Yet when Henry lay at Guildford for several weeks in his last illness, there is no sign of any visit from his mother, who was only thirty miles away.[5] Perhaps the fact was that his delicacy was so

[1] A gallon of wine was put into the bath he took on the eve of Pentecost (below, p. 405).

[2] *Fœdera* (1816), I., i., 155.

[3] In July, 1273, a shilling was paid to a woman for nursing Nicholas of Bath, one of the royal wards in Henry's household (Exch. Accts. 350/16, m. 4). At twelve years old Henry of Lancaster, coming with his brother Thomas to visit his cousin Edward of Carnarvon, had to stay behind on account of illness when Thomas left (*ibid.*, 353/18, m. 8). It is curious to notice that the numerous records relating to Edward of Carnarvon himself as child and youth have not a word of any ill-health. His half-brother Edmund of Woodstock, however, had a childish illness (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37656, f. 2 v°).

[4] E.g. in April, June, July (Exch. Accts., 350/16) and October, 1273 (below, p. 400).

[5] 5-11 Oct. at the Tower of London, 12-23 Oct. at Westminster (Gough, *Itinerary of Edw. I.*, I., 40).

constant that this attack had excited no unusual alarm. For it is clear that Henry was often ailing. On several occasions his measure (*mensura*) in the form of a wax candle, was taken to the shrine of some saint whose intercession might restore him.[1] On the first two, 5 July and 25 August, 1273, his sister's was taken also,[2] but in the following year it was Henry alone for whom the remedy was sought. Twice in the autumn of 1273 widows were "watching in prayer" on the child's behalf, as they did again, and in vain, in his last illness a year later.

Henry's last summer was spent in a round of sight-seeing and excitements. The king and queen returned to England in July, 1274, and the children, taken as far as Canterbury to meet them, shared the devotions, ceremonies, and festivities which filled the ensuing weeks. The last great scene in which we can picture little Henry taking part was the coronation, at Westminster Abbey, on 19 August. It was a hot summer's day, and the great church was packed to overflowing. It may well have been that a little boy of six, at first all eyes and ears for the splendid pageantry, may have been both cross and weary before all was over.[3] This was to be his last sight of the famous church, though within two months' time he was to enter it again, and rest there for ever. He fell ill at Guildford, in September, and for a month or more those in charge plied him with such spiritual or physical remedies as they could devise. His cupboards had always been well

[1] The mention of a wick shews that his measure took the shape of a candle, not a wax effigy. The offer of such *mensuræ* was a common practice in the middle ages, and much in favour in Henry's family. His grandmother was measured in an illness in 1257, and on her recovery made an offering, in gratitude, at St. Alban's Abbey (Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, Rolls Series, V., 653-4). Ten years later a writ of *liberate* was issued at Henry III.'s command to the sacristan of Westminster *pro trescentis libris cere quam posuit pro mensuris nostris circa feretrum beati Edwardi* (Liberate roll 43, m. 3). Note that the measure is a real one, for where Henry III.'s required 300 lb. of wax his little grandson only needed 2 lb. Edward I. in 1301 sent to the shrine of St. Richard of Chichester a cloth of gold *et mensuras ipsius regis in cera* (*Liber Quot. Contrarot. Garderobe*, p. 97).

[2] Exch. Accts., 350/16, ms. 4, 3.

[3] Older people than Henry found similar occasions too much for them. In 1306, when Edward, Prince of Wales, was knighted in the Abbey with some 200 of his friends, "the crowding before the high altar was so great that two knights died and several fainted" (*Flores Hist.*, Rolls Series, iii., 132).

stocked with those "dyas and drogges" by which mediæval medicine sought to 'dryve away Deth,'[1] but fresh supplies were now sought. Perhaps the child would take more readily to his *penide*, "the little wreath of sugar taken in a cold"[2] than to decoctions made from those herbs which his servants were now sent to look for in the neighbouring countryside. Neither this treatment, however, nor the masses and prayers which were lavished on him, could avail to save him. He died towards the end of October.[3] Guildford, where his last weeks were spent, will always be associated with his memory, for there his heart remained, solemnly deposited in a newly-founded house of Preaching Friars, due to the piety of his grandmother Queen Eleanor.[4] The child's body, however, was taken with due ceremony to Westminster Abbey, and interred beneath that marble altar-tomb, brilliant with jewels and mosaics,[5] where lay already the bodies of four children of Henry III., as well as that of little Henry's elder brother, John of Windsor.

HILDA JOHNSTONE.

Public Record Office, Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 350, No. 18.[6]

[1] *Piers Plowman*, ed. Skeat, Text C. Passus XXIII., ll. 173-4.

[2] Cotgrave, *French-Eng. Dictionary*, 1650. For this and other medicines see notes on text below.

[3] Probably on Tuesday, 23 Oct. (below, p. 414) but his own clerks seem to have been vague about the exact day (*cf.* below, p. 420). Wykes (*Annales Monastici*, iv.), p. 261, says that Henry died about 14 Oct. and was buried on Saturday, 20 Oct.

[4] The obituary calendar of this house (Camb. Univ. MS. Ll. II., 9, f. 46 v°), records on 21 Oct. *depositio cordis Henrici filii domini regis Edwardi*. I must thank Miss Eileen Power for kindly looking up this reference for me. Father Palmer in his history of the friary (*The Reliquary*, New Series (1887), i., 7-20), assumes, as is quite probable, that the Queen founded this house as a memorial to Henry, and this view is adopted in the account given in the Victoria County History (*Surrey*, ii., 114-6). As early as 5 March, 1275, a licence was issued to the friars preachers of Guildford to enclose the road adjoining their site (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1257-1300, 189).

[5] The tomb stands at the entrance to the south ambulatory, and faint traces of its former ornament can still be seen. On 7 Dec., 1274 a writ of *liberate* was issued to the *custos operacionum* of the abbey *pro reparacione cujusdam tumbe marmoree ad opus Henrici filii nostri* (Liberate roll 51, m. 12).

[6] Miss C. M. Calthrop has kindly transcribed this roll for me. I have to thank Mr. Hilary Jenkinson for help with difficult readings and other

m. 6d. Continet .xli li. xi. s. ij. d. ob. de necessariis et forinsecis [1] anno secundo.

m. 6. Die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli, anno regni domini Regis Edwardi secundo,[2] in recessu domini H[enrici] et familie sue de Windeshora, pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad deferendam harnesiam domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis usque Gildeford' .iij. s. iiij. d. Item pro allocacione .ij. equorum ad opus Johannis de Weston' et Nicholai de Ba de Windeshora usque Gildeford' .xij. d. Item die Lune sequenti pro expensis Roberti de Sey petentis robas domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis apud Lond' per .iiij. dies sequentes .xij. d. Item pro conductione .j. equi ad dictas robas deferendas de London' usque Gildeford' .xij. d. Item pro expensis Johannis Cissoris petentis furruras dictarum robarum apud London' et apud Windeshoram minuta necessaria ibidem omissa per iij dies .vj. d. Item pro conductione j equi ad deferendas dictas furruras de London' usque Windeshoram et alia necessaria de Windeshora usque Gildeford' .xxiij. d. Item die Lune post festum sancti Michaelis pro factione et reparacione .j. carecte domini H[enrici] fracte .ix. d. ob. Item eodem die pro j. lagena ceruisie empta in villa de Gildeford' ad opus puerorum .j. d. ob. Item pro melle ad opus domini .iij. d. Idem die Jouis sequenti pro .j. lagena vini empta ibidem ad jentaculum domini G[alfridi] recedentis versus Windeshoram iiij. d. Item eodem die in recessu domine Regine versus Kenigton' pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad hernesiam domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum ibidem deferendam .ij. s. .iiij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' de Gildeford' usque Kenigton' .xj. d. Item pro factura stabuli ad palefridum domini H[enrici] apud Kenigton' .iij. d. Item eodem die datum cuidam nuncio deferenti litteras domine Regine matris domini H[enrici] de statu puerorum sciendo ex dono domini et per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .xij. d. Item liberatum ibidem lotrici pro stipendiis suis de .x. septimanis .xiiij. d. per preceptum domini G[alfridi]. Item eodem die pro j. carecta parva empta ad opus domini ad ludendum .vij. d. Item pro .j. caruca empta ad opus

problems. Abbreviations are usually extended, but where the termination is not beyond all doubt the word has been left in its shortened form. This applies to all place-names except such obvious ones as *Windeshora* or *Cantuaria*. The paragraphs correspond with those in the manuscript, but the sign which precedes each new division has not been reproduced. Punctuation and capitals have been assimilated to modern usage, except in the case of those dots which the original accountant placed before and after each numeral in order to make it stand out on his page. Small spelling variations (e.g. ct or tt) have been made uniform. Square brackets indicate additions made by the editor.

[1] MS. *forinc'*. [2] 24 Sept., 1273.

eiusdem .iiij. d. Item pro cervisia empta per plures vices ad opus puerorum et nutricum .v. d. Item die Mercurii ante festum Omnium Sanctorum pro .ij. lagenis vini novi emptis apud Lond' ad opus domini et sororis sue cum expensis .j. garcionis petentis eas apud London' et deferentis usque Kenigton' .xj. d. Item eodem die pro litera empta ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et aliorum puerorum custodie domini Regis .iiij. d. Item die Lune post diem Animarum datum cuidam nuncio deferenti species domino H[enrico] de exennio Luce de Luc'[1] ex dono domini .xij. d.[2]

Summa .xix. s. vj. d. probatum.

Item die Dominica in festo sancti Martini datum hospiti domini H[enrici] de Gildeford' ex dono domini .vj. s. viij. d. Item eodem die pro dimidio sextario vini empto et misso domino Hugoni monacho de Redinges visitanti dominum H[enricum] vij. d. Item die Lune sequenti pro expensis ij. equorum et vadiis j. garcionis Roberti de Montepess' venientis ad mandatum domini vsque Gildeford' per .j. noctem .ix. d. Item pro .iij. duodenis alaudarum emptis apud London' cum expensis .j. garcionis petentis eas ibidem .vij. d. Item pro expensis Thome de Pamp[esworth] languentis infirmitate apud Windeshoram a die Dominica post festum sancti Mathei apostoli vsque diem Dominicam ante festum sancte Katerine virginis videlicet pro .x. septimanis xxvij. s. iij. d. Item die Veneris in festo sancti Clementis pro .j. lagena vini empta ad opus domini J[ohannis] de London' iiij. d. Item die Mercurij post festum sancte Katerine virginis pro expensis Roberti de Sey euntis ad dominum R[obertum] Burnell pro robis domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et aliorum puerorum petendis[3] contra Natiuitatem Domini[4] per .iiij. dies .xij. d. Item eodem die pro ij. vrinalibus emptis ad opus domini .ij. d. Item die Veneris sequenti pro expensis Thome clerici petentis zuheram et alias species apud London' ad opus domini per .iij. dies .ix. d. Item pro lacte empto ad opus puerorum per diuersas vices .ij. d. ob. Item eodem die pro. ij. perdicibus emptis per manus Stephani Coci ad opus domini et sororis sue .iiij. d. ob. Item die Lune ante festum sancti Andree apostoli pro expensis Thome clerici apud London' ad petendas robas familie

[1] Luke Natalis, citizen and merchant of Lucca. For his activities about this time see the calendars of Chancery rolls, *passim*, and Tout, *Chapters*, II., 4 and 5.

[2] *Summa* was written here by the clerk by mistake, and then repeated on the line below in its proper place.

[3] MS. *petentis*.

[4] *Imminente vero praeclara Dominicae Nativitatis festivitate, qua mutatoria recentia, quae vulgariter robas appellamus, magnates suis domesticis distribuere consueverunt* (Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, Rolls Series, iv., 502).

domini H[enrici] et ibidem detentus infirmitate a dicto die Lune vsque diem Martis post festum Concepcionis beate Marie videlicet per .xv. dies sequentes .iij. s. ix. d. Item pro retonsione [1] panni dictarum robarum ibidem .xxij. d. Item pro conductione .j. equi ad ferendas dictas robas vsque Gildeford' .xij. d. Item pro .iiij. vlnis cambie emptis ad inuoluendum dictas robas .xij. d. Item [pro] .j. capistro empto ad palefridum domini H[enrici] .iiij. d. Item pro .ij. cingulis et j. supercingulo ad eundem .vij. d. Item pro .j. traynello [2] j. d. ob. Item die Lune ante festum sancte Lucie virginis pro expensis Thome clerici missi apud London' ad dominum R[obertum] Burnel pro negociis domini H[enrici] eidem monstrandis et ad petendas robas vallettorum ibidem per vij. dies .xxj. d. Item [pro] conductione .j. equi ad deferendas dictas robas usque Gildeford' cum expensis .j. garcionis euntis cum robis .xviij. d. Item pro retonsione dictarum robarum ibidem videlicet ward' et domini G[alfridi] et vallettorum .iij. s. v. d. Item die Jouis ante festum sancti Thome apostoli pro expensis R[oberti] de Sey et J[ohannis] Cissoris apud London' ad petendas furruras et ad emendas .ix. duodenas nodulorum et .j. vlnam burnette ad opus domini per .iij. dies .xv. d. Item pro dictis .ix. duodenis nodulorum deauratorum emptis ibidem iiij. s. vj. d. Item eodem die pro ceruisia empta ad opus puerorum et nutricum .iij. d. Item pro. j. lagena vini .iiij. d. Item die Lune in vigilia Natalis Domini pro allocacione duarum feminarum deferencium aquam ad balneum domini et aliorum puerorum et laborancium circa balneum calefiendum .vj. d.[3] Item eodem die pro lacte ad opus domini et sororis sue et aliorum puerorum .j. d. ob.

Summa .lx. s. xj. d.

Die Veneris in festo sanctorum Innocencium pro ceruisia empta ad opus puerorum et nutricum .ij.d. Item pro lacte empto eodem die .j.d. Item die Jouis ante festum Epiphanie Domini pro emendacione et deauratura .j. ciphi domini H[enrici] fracti .xvj. d. Item pro expensis .j. garcionis portantis dictum ciphum usque London' et reportantis per iiij.or dies .viij. d. Item die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Hillarij pro expensis Thome clerici petentis .j. liberate de .xx. libris apud London' per viij. dies .ij. s. Item eodem die pro .iij. vrinallibus emptis ij. d. ob. Item datum hospiti domini

[1] Shearing the long nap.

[2] Ducange gives this word only in the sense of shoe-horn. But here it is the trammel, an arrangement of cords or straps used in teaching horses to amble.

[3] Threepence was in the twelfth century the sum due to the *aquarius* when the king bathed, *exceptis tribus annuis festis*. King John paid 2¼d. for any extra baths he took (*Tout*, I., 84 n.). In 1290 a bath for Edward of Carnarvon at Banstead cost him 6d., whereas his two sisters paid only 4d. each (Chanc. Misc. 3/22, m. 1).

H[enrici] de Gildeford' pro stabulagio et aliis esiamentis domus sue ex dono domini et per preceptum domini G[alfridi] x. s. Item vxori sue per preceptum eiusdem .j. anulum emptum pro .ij. s. Item die Sabbati ante festum sancti Vincentij martyris pro .j. sacco empto ad harnesiam domine Alianore bene ligato de coreo per preceptum domini G[alfridi] vj. s. viij. d. Item pro bracheis coreis emptis ad eundem .xvj. d. Item eodem die pro correccione carecte domini H[enrici] fracte .ij. d. Item die Jouis in festo Conuersionis sancti Pauli pro expensis Thome de Pamp[esworth] apud London' per .vj. dies sequentes pro denariis petendis ad scaccarium .xviij. d. Item die Veneris sequenti pro expensis .j. garcionis euntis apud London' pro zuchera et speciebus petendis ad opus domini per iij. dies vj. d. Die Dominica proxima post Purificacionem beate Marie in recessu domine Regine de Gildeford' pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad harnesiam domini et aliorum puerorum deferendam de Gildeford' vsque Kenigton' .ij. s. viij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem .xiiij. d. Item pro .j. lagena ceruisie empta per viam ad opus puerorum et nutricum .j. d. ob. Item die Martis ante festum sancti Valentini pro expensis Thome clerici commorantis apud London' per .xv. dies sequentes pro visu compoti sui facto .iij. s. vj. d. Item die Mercurii sequenti pro .j. lagena vini empta ad jentaculum domini G[alfridi] et .W. de Hexton' euncium versus Windeshoram ad preparandum contra aduentum domine Regine .iiij. d. Item eodem die datum cuidem nuncio deferenti litteras domine Regine matris domini H[enrici] ex dono domini .ij. s. Item die Jouis ante Ramos Palmarum pro expensis Thome clerici ad petendas robas domini H[enrici] et sororis sue [et][1] Britonis apud London' per .v. dies .xv. d. Item pro retonsione dictarum robarum ibidem .xij. d. Item eodem die pro imposicione vnius smaragdi in quodam fermaculo dato domino H[enrico] per archiepiscopum Eboracensem .viij. d. Item pro conductione vnius equi ad deferendas dictas robas de London' vsque Kenigton' .viij. d. Item die Martis ante Pascham pro expensis J[ohannis] Cissoris apud London' pro furruris robarum domini H[enrici] petendis et ad emendas .xij. duodenas nodulorum ibidem per .iij. dies .vj. d. Item pro dictis .xij. duodenis nodulorum emptis ibidem .iiij. s. vj. d. Item pro laqueis sericis ad eosdem .iiij. d. Item die Sabbati in vigilia Pasche in recessu domine Regine de Kenigton' pro conductione .iij. carectarum ad harnesiam domini et aliorum puerorum et nutricum deferendam de Kenigton' vsque Windeshoram .iij. s. vj. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem .xij. d. Item eodem die apud Windeshoram pro allocacione duarum feminarum deferentium aquam ad balneum domini et aliorum puerorum

[1] MS. *de*.

et laborancium circa illud .iiij. d. Item pro ceruisia empta apud Windeshoram ad opus puerorum et nutricum .iij. d.

Summa .l. s. ix. d.

Die Lune post octabas Pasche in recessu domine Regine de Windeshora pro conductione .ij. carectarum deferencium harnesiam domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum de Windeshora vsque Kenigton' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro conductione duorum equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem .x. d. Item pro lacte empto ad opus puerorum .j. d. Item die Martis sequenti pro carriagio predicte harnesie domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum de Kenigton' vsque Yistelesworth'[1] cum .ij. carectis .xiiij. d. Item die Mercurii sequenti pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad dictam harnesiam deferendam de Yistleswrth' usque London' .xvj. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' de Kenigton' vsque Ystelesworth' et de Ystelesworth' vsque London' videlicet per .ij. dies .xx. d. Item pro feno et auena ad dictos equos per .j. noctem .v. d. Item pro fabis nouellis emptis apud London' ad opus domini .iij. d. Item die Jouis sequenti pro carriagio predicte harnesie domini H[enrici] de London' vsque Stratford' viij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad dictam hernesiam deferendam de Stratford' vsque Havering xvj.d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' de London' vsque Havering' videlicet per ij. dies cum expensis eorundem .xviij. d. Item pro lacte empto apud Stratford' .j.d. ad opus puerorum. Item die Martis ante festum sancti Marci Ewangeliste pro expensis Thome clerici apud London' pro denariis petendis per .vij. dies sequentes .xxj. d. Item pro serpintis .j. fermaculi aurei fracti dati domino H[enrico] per archiepiscopum Cantuariensem apud London' faciendis et reparandis .xvj. d. Item pro .j. cocleari argenteo ibidem de nouo faciendo et deaurando .ix. d. Item pro .ij. cingulis et .j. supercingulo emptis ad palefridum domini .vij. d. Item pro .j. capistro ad dictum palefridum .iiij. d. Item pro .j. strigili .ij. d. Item die Veneris post festum Inuentionis sancte Crucis pro expensis predicti Thome clerici missi domino R[oberto] Burnel pro negociis domini H[enrici] per .iiij. dies .xij. d. Item eodem die in remocione domine Regine de Hauering' vsque Windeshoram pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad harnesiam domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum deferendam de Hauering' vsque Stratford' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem .viij. d.

m. 5. Item die Sabbati sequenti pro carriagio predicte harnesie domini H[enrici] de Stratford' vsque Merton' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem

[1] Isleworth, Middlesex.

.viij. d. Item pro litera empta ibidem ad palefridum domini .j. d. ob. Item die Lune sequenti pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad deferendam hernesiam dicti domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum de Merton' vsque Kenigton' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro cariagio predicte harnesie de Kenigton' vsque Windeshoram cum .ij. carettis .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' de Merton' vsque Kenigton' et de Kenigton' vsque Windeshoram videlicet per .ij. dies .xvj. d. Item pro feno et auena ad dictos equos per .j. noctem .iiij. d. ob. Item eodem die pro ceruisia empta ad opus puerorum .j. d. ob.

Summa .xxx. s. ij. d. ob.

Item die Veneris proxima post festum Ascencionis Domini pro expensis Thome clerici apud London' ad petendas robas domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et aliorum familie domini H[enrici] et dictas robas ibidem cindendas per .viij. dies .ij. s. Item pro retonsione dictarum robarum videlicet .v. pannorum v. s. vj. d. Item pro .iiij. vlnis cambie ad inuoluendas dictas robas xij. d. Item pro conductione vnius equi ad deferendas dictas robas vsque Windeshoram .xij. d. Item pro expensis Thome clerici apud London' cum domino R[oberto] Burnel pro negociis domini H[enrici] per .vj. dies .xviij. d. Item pro .iij. smaragdis imponendis in coronella domini H[enrici] ibidem .xvj. d. Item eodem die pro .xij. duodenis nodulorum deauratorum[1] emptis ibidem ad robas domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .v. s. iiij. d. Item pro laqueis sericis emptis ad eosdem .v. d. Item die Sabbati in vigilia Pentecostes pro lacte ad opus domini et aliorum puerorum .ob. Item pro .j. lagena vini empta ad balneum eiusdem .iiij. d. eodem die.

Item die Sabbati ante festum sancte Trinitatis pro .ij. sellis cum frenis emptis ad opus R[oberti] Walerand' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea .xiij. s. iiij. d. Item pro .iiij. cingulis emptis ad easdem sellas .viij. d. Item pro expensis Thome clerici petentis et ementis dictas sellas apud London' per .iiij. dies .xij. d. Item die Dominica sequenti pro expensis garcionis Rogeri de sancto Andrea ducentis .j. equum R[oberti] Walerand' ad dominum R[obertum] Burnel per .iij. dies cum expensis eiusdem equi per idem tempus .ix. d. Item die Lune sequenti in recessu domine Regine de Wyndeshora versus Marleberg' pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad deferendam hernesiam domini et aliorum puerorum de Windeshora usque Reding' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item die Martis sequenti pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad deferendam dictam harnesiam de Reding' vsque Neubiri .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro ceruisia empta ibidem ad opus puerorum et nutricum .j. d. ob. Item pro lacte .ob. Item die Mercurii sequenti pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad deferendam dictam harnesiam de Neubiry vsque Marleberg' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item

[1] MS. *deauratarum*.

pro conductione .ij.^{orum} equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' de Windeshora usque Marleberg' videlicet per .iij. dies .iij. s. Item pro expensis dictorum equorum per dictum tempus .xij. d. Item pro factione stabuli apud Marleberg' ad palefridum domini H[enrici] .iiij. d. Item die Jouis sequenti pro expensis Thome clerici venientis de Windeshora vsque Marleberg' per .ij. dies .vj. d. Item eodem die datum cuidam nuncio deferenti zucharam ad opus domini de Luca[1] de Luk' ex dono domini et per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .xij. d. Item die Veneris sequenti pro expensis .j. garcionis portantis mensuram[2] domini H[enrici] apud Cantuariam de Marleberg' .iij. s. Item die Martis proxima post festum sancti Barnabe apostoli pro expensis Thome clerici euntis apud London' pro denariis petendis ad opus domini H[enrici] et pro .ij. collobiis[3] emendis ad opus R[oberti] Walerand' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea per .ix. dies .ij. s. iij. d. Item die Mercurii sequenti in recessu domine Regine de Marleberg' versus Lotgershale pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad deferendam harnesiam domini et aliorum puerorum ibidem .xviij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba. et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem viij. d.

Summa .liiij. s. vij. d.

Item pro expensis Thome clerici recedentis de Lotgershale versus Windeshoram ad prouisiones faciendas contra aduentum domini Alphonsi per .xv. dies .iij. s. ix. d. Item pro expensis .j. garcionis missi de Lotgershale usque Lond' ad petendum zucharam et oleum amigdalorum ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue per .iiij. dies .viij. d. Item liberatum Rogero perdici garcioni Roberti Walerand' eunti ad patriam suam pro expensis suis per .vj. dies .xij. d. per preceptum domini G[alfridi]. Item eodem die pro .ij. ciphis vitreis emptis ad opus domini et sororis sue .v. d. Item die Lune proxima post festum Translacionis Sancti Thome Martiris datum cuidam nuncio domine Regine matris domini H[enrici] deferenti litteras de statu puerorum ex dono domini et per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .ij. s. Item eodem die pro .iij. capellis pennarum pauonum emptis ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .xviij. d. Item pro .iij. laqueis sericis ad easdem .xviij. d. Item pro pede .j. ciphi domine Alienore de nouo faciendo et reparando .xvj. d. Item pro .j. hanaperio de coreo cum serratura et claue ad dictum ciphum .viij. d. Item die Martis ante festum sancte Margarete virginis pro .ij. zonis perillis emptis ad dominum H[enricum] et dominam Alienoram .xv. d. Item die Veneris sequenti datum cuidam scutifero domini Antonii Bek ducenti .j. palefridum domino

[1] MS. *Luce.* [2] See above, p. 398.
[3] Sleeveless or short-sleeved tunics.

H[enrico] de exennio dicti domini Antonii ex dono domini et per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .j. anulum precii .vi. s. viij. d. Item garcioni eiusdem scutiferi custodienti dictum palefridum ex precepto eiusdem domini G[alfridi] ij. s. Item pro expensis rocini et vadiis garcionis dicti scutiferi commorantis cum domino H[enrico] per .iij. dies .xv. d. Item pro .j. capistro nouo empto ad predictum palefridum .iiij. d. Item pro .j. hocio canabino empto ad eundem .viij. d. Item pro iiij. cingulis cum nouis pusculis et .ij. supercingulis emptis ad .ij. palefridos .xiiij. d. Item die Mercurii sequenti in recessu domine Regine de Lotgershale versus Cantuariam contra aduentum domini Regis et pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad harnesiam domini et sororis sue et aliorum puerorum deferendam de Lotgershale vsque Windeshoram et de Windeshora usque Roucestre videlicet per .iiij. dies .ix. s. .iiij. d. quelibet carecta per diem .xiiij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston per idem tempus .iiij. s. Item pro expensis dictorum equorum per .iij. noctes .x .d .ob. Item pro expensis .ij. palefridorum commorancium apud Windeshoram post recessum domini H[enrici] per .ij. dies .xv. d. Item pro ferratura et firmatura eorundem .ij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum beate Marie Magdalene pro expensis Thome clerici et .ij. garcionum ducentium dictos duos palefridos de Windesora vsque Roucestr' in cibo et potu eorundem .xij. d. Item pro feno et auena ad dictos palefridos .vj. d. Item pro litera .j. d. Item pro ceruisia empta per iter inter Lotgershale et Roucestr' ad opus puerorum et nutricum per diuersas vices .iij. d. Item pro lacte ad opus puerorum per idem tempus .j. d. ob. Item die Lune post festum beate Marie Magdalene in remocione domine Regine de Roucestr' vsque Hospringe pro carriagio harnesie domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum ibidem .xv. d. Item pro allocacione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston ibidem .vj. d. Item die Mercurii sequenti pro .ij. hociis allute[1] ad .ij. nouas sellas domini H[enrici] et Britonis infra lineatas tela subtili .iij. s. iiij. d. Item pro .j. duodena nodulorum deauratorum empta ad dictas sellas ibidem .vj. d. Item pro .iiij. cingulis ad dictas sellas .xv. d. Item eodem die pro expensis .j. garcionis petentis zucharam apud London' ad opus domini H[enrici] .vj. d.

Summa liij. s. vij. d.

Die Mercurii proxima ante festum sancti Laurencii martiris. In remocione domine Regine de Cantuaria versus Windesoram pro carriagio harnesie domini H[enrici] de Cantuaria usque Roucestr' cum .ij. carectis per .ij. dies .iij. s. iiij. d. Item pro conductione duorum equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' ibidem per idem tempus

[1] Housings of dressed sheepskin.

.xij. d. Item pro ceruisia empta apud Roucestr' ad opus domine Alienore .j. d. ob. Item die Veneris sequenti pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad harnesiam domini deferendam de Roucestr' vsque Merton' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro carriagio predicte harnesie de Merton' vsque London' .xij. d. Item pro conductione .ij. equorum ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' de Roucestr' vsque Merton' et de Merton' vsque London' per .ij. dies .xviij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum sancti Bartholomei apostoli pro expensis .j. garcionis petentis oleum amigdalorum apud London' ad opus domine Alianore de Windeshora .iij. d. Item eodem die pro lacte empto ad opus puerorum .ob. Item die Decollacionis beati Johannis Baptiste in recessu domine Regine de Windeshora versus Hodiam eodem die pro litera empta ad ward' domini Regis apud Finchamsted .iij. d. Item pro litera ad palefrid' domini .j. d. Item pro carriagio harnesie domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum de Windeshora vsque Finchamsted' .xij. d. Item pro carriagio predicte harnesie de Finchamsted' uersus Odiham .xvj. d. Item pro .j. equo locato ad opus J[ohannis] de Weston' de Windesora vsque Odiham .x. d. Item liberatum capellario pro rosis et aliis floribus emptis ad capellas ad opus domini contra festum Coronacionis domini Regis per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .xij. d. Item liberatum Waltero Palefridario pro roba sua yemali per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .vj. s. viij. d. Item eidem pro sotularibus et calciamentis .xij. d. Item die Lune ante festum Natiuitatis beate Marie pro .ij. capistris emptis ad palefridos domini H[enrici] vnde .j. palefridus ex dono domine Regine matris sue .viij. d. Item eodem die pro tabulario domini H[enrici] reparando .iij. d. Die Jouis sequenti pro .ij. soleis in caligis domini H[enrici] et .ij. soleis in caligis Britonis imponendis .iiij. d. Item liberatum pro carne empta ad nisos[1] domini H[enrici] toto tempore estiuali per diuersas particulas .iiij. d. ob. Item pro .ij. sagittis emptis apud Odiham ad opus domini .j. d. Item pro expensis .j. garcionis petentis letwar'[2] et alias species apud London' ad opus domini tempore quo fuit infirmus .iiij. d. Item pro alaudis emptis ibidem ad opus eiusdem .vj. d. Item pro .iij. perdicibus ad opus eiusdem emptis ibidem .ix. d. Item pro .ij. vrinallibus .iij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum sancti Mathei apostoli pro .iij. duodenis alaudarum emptis apud London' ad opus domini cum expensis .j. garcionis petentis eas ibidem .xij. d. Item pro pane de wastello[3] empto per particulas ad opus eiusdem .iiij. d. Die Sabbati in festo sancti Michaelis pro .iij. duodenis alaudarum emptis apud

[1] Hawks. [2] I.e. *electuarium* or *electuaria*.

[3] In the form of cakes. When Edward II. went to see the famous "procession of the Buck" at St. Paul's, the canons made him a present *de gastellis Sancti Pauli callidis* (*Ann. Paulini*, in *Chrons. of Edw. I. and II.*, Rolls Series, i., 298).

London' .viij. d. Item pro expensis .j. garcionis petentis eas ibidem .iij. d. Item pro .c. piris cailowe'[1] emptis ibidem ad opus eiusdem domini H[enrici] .xij. d. Item die Dominica sequenti pro .j. lagena vini empta ad opus magistri Hugonis de Evesham visitantis dominum [in] infirmitate sua .iiij. d.

Summa .xxviij. s. x. d. ob.

m. 4. Die Lune proxima post festum sancti Michaelis pro expensis Thome clerici apud London' pro denariis petendis per .x. dies .iiij. s. vj. d. Item eodem die pro .j. lintheamine albo empto ad pedes domini .xviij. d. Item pro .ij. manutergiis emptis ad manus eiusdem et sororis sue et Britonis iij. s. iiij. d. Item pro lacte empto domini et puerorum donec fuit infirmus per particulas per manus Kenist hostiarii .xviij. d. Item die Jouis sequenti pro expensis .j. garcionis portantis mensuram domini H[enrici] pro infirmitate sua apud Stapleford' .vj. d. Item pro .ij. libris cere emptis ad dictam mensuram ibidem deferendam .xiij. d. Item pro lichino .ob. Item pro .ij. libris cere emptis ad mensuram eiusdem domini H[enrici] deferendam ad sanctum Fromundum[2] de Donestaple .xiij. d. Item pro expensis .j. garcionis portantis dictam mensuram ibidem .vj. d. Item pro .ij. libris cere emptis ad mensuram eiusdem deferendam ad sanctum Jacobum de Redinges .xiij. d. Item pro expensis garcionis portantis dictam mensuram ibidem .iij. d. Item pro .ij. libris cere emptis ad mensuram eiusdem deferendam apud sanctum Momartre extra Gildeford'[3] .xiij. d. Item pro .iiij. libris cere ad mensuram eiusdem deferendam apud London' ad sanctum Edwardum et Regem Henricum .ij. s. ij. d. Item pro expensis garcionis portantis dictas mensuras ibidem .vj. d. Item pro .ij. libris cere emptis ad mensuram eiusdem domini deferendam apud Cantuariam ad sanctum Thomam .xiij. d. Item pro lichino et opere candelarum predictarum .iiij. d. Item pro expensis garcionis portantis mensuram apud Cantuariam .viij. d. Item pro .ij. pellis multonis emptis ad opus eiusdem domini H[enrici] .viij. d. Item pro expensis J[ohannis] de Weston' petentis dominum Patricium de Cadurciis[4] per .j.

[1] The kind of pear called *caillou, chaillou, caillouet* or *chailloul* is among four sorts stated by Le Grand d'Aussy to have been favourites in the thirteenth century (*Vie privée des Français*, ed. 1815, I., 279). It was of medium size, brown-skinned, and good for cooking.

[2] St. Fremund, son of Offa of Mercia.

[3] Is this *mons martiris* the present St. Martha's Hill, south-east of Guildford? It was often in the middle ages called Martyr's Hill, possibly because the chapel which stood on it was appropriated to Newark priory, of which one of the patrons was St. Thomas of Canterbury, or because the Pilgrims' Way went over it. (*Cf. Vict. County Hist., Surrey*, iii., 104-6).

[4] Patrick de Chaworth IL, d. 1282.

diem .vj. d. Item pro expensis Roberti de Say petentis dominam de Fiens [1] per .j. diem .vj. d. Item pro ollis luteis ad dequoquendas herbas ad opus eiusdem domini H[enrici] per .iij. vices .iij. d. ob. Item pro expensis .j. hominis petentis dictas herbas per patriam ad opus domini dum fuit infirmus .xij. d. Item pro .j. tancard' ad petendam aquam in camera .iij. d. ob. Item die Mercurii post obitum domini H[enrici] pro conductione .ij. carectarum ad harnesiam domini H[enrici] et aliorum puerorum deferendam usque Merton' .ij. s. iiij. d. Item pro carriagio predicte harnesie de Merton' usque London' .xij. d. Item pro passagio Tamisie .j. d. Item liberatum hospiti domini H[enrici] de Gildeford' ex dono domini et pro anima sua .vj. s. viij. d. Item pro litera empta apud Merton' ad ward[am] domini Regis venientis nobiscum ibidem cum corpore domini H[enrici] .v. d.

Summa .xxxvj. s. iiij. d. ob.

Summa totalis istius particule .xvj. lb. xiiij. s. ix. d. ob. probatum.

Die Lune proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli anno supradicto pro .j. roba empta ad opus Thome de Merton' existentis in custodia domini Regis per preceptum domini G[alfridi] de Picheford .viij. s. x. d. Item pro .ij. paribus pannorum lineorum emptis ad opus eiusdem .xx. d. Item eodem die pro .c. piris cailou' emptis ad opus domini et aliorum puerorum .xij. d. Item pro .cc. conciis [2] ad opus eiusdem domini .xviij. d. Item die Jovis ante festum sancti Edwardi Regis pro .ij. libris diaboriginat' [3] emptis ad opus domini et sororis sue et Britonis .ij. s. Item pro .ij. libris triasandal' [4]

[1] Presumably Isabel, wife of Enguerrand de Fiennes, once a knight in Henry III.'s household and long 'faithful to the king and Edward his son.' Enguerrand was a second cousin to Queen Eleanor of Castile on her mother's side. He held Wendover and other manors in England.

[2] ? quinces (Mod. Fr. coing).

[3] Cotgrave (*French-Eng. Dict.* (1650) explains *dia* as "tearme set before medicinall confections or electuaries that were devised by the Greeks." *Cf.* a passage in *Piers Plowman* (ed. Skeat, Text C., Passus XXIII., ll. 173-4):—

Lyf leued that leche-craft lette sholde Elde,
And to-dryve away Deth with dyas and drogges.

Diaborago must be some medicinal preparation of the much-used herb borage. "Borage" said Boorde in his *Dyetary* in 1542 (*E.E.T.S.*, p. 280) "doth comforte the herte and doth ingender good blode and causeth a man to be mery."

[4] "Triassandali que on renomme" is named in a morality first published in 1507 as one of those *friandises petites* of whom Bancquet, condemned to death for leading men to gluttony and gluttony's consequences, took leave in a speech before his execution. (Nicole de la Chesnaye, *La condamnacion des bancquetz* in *Recueil des Farces . . . du quinzième siècle*, ed. Jacob,

ad opus eorundem .ij. s. Item pro .ij. libris zuchare rosacee et .ij. libris zuchare violate ad eosdem .iiij. s. Item pro .v. libris penidiar' [1] .v. s. Item die Mercurii ante festum Omnium Sanctorum pro .iij. paribus cirotecarum ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .vj. d. Item eodem die pro .ij. libris saponis Hispani emptis ad opus domini et sororis sue et Britonis .viij. d. Item pro dimidia duodena percamenarum empta eodem die .vij. d. Item pro .xxx. ulnis tele subtilis emptis ad lincheamina domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .xij. s. vj. d. Item pro .xij. ulnis cambie emptis ad sellas et robas et harnesiam domini cooperiendas et ad nap[er]ones et ad mundendas scutellas argenteas et alia necessaria .iij. s. vj. d. Item eodem die pro .j. ulna burnete empta ad caligas domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .iij. s. viij. d. Item die Jovis in festo Omnium Sanctorum pro .ij. libris albi pulveris [2] emptis apud London' .xvj. d. Item pro dimidia libra grani [3] et pienn' [4] .iij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum sancti Edmundi Confessoris pro .iij. paribus cirotecarum ad opus domini et sororis sue et Britonis cum armis domini Regis super pollicem .ix. d. Item die Dominica ante festum sancti Andree apostoli pro .ij. libris diaboriginat' ad opus domini et sororis sue .ij. s. Item pro .iij. libris penid' emptis ad opus eorundem .iij. s. Item die Martis ante festum Concepcionis beate Marie pro .j. uncia serici diversorum colorum empta ad opus domine Alianore ad laqueos [5] faciendos .xij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum sancti Thome apostoli pro .j. ulna burnete empta ad caligas domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .iij. s. viij. d. Item pro retonsione et cotunacione [6] eiusdem .j. d. ob. Item pro filo albo et nigro et ligatorio empto ad robas domini et sororis sue et

1859, p. 448). It seems to have been used as a flavouring more than as a medicine, and was some preparation of sandalwood or the oil of sandalwood. Perhaps the prefix *tria-* is from med. Lat. *triare*, extract or try out (*cf. New Eng. Dict., s.v.* 'try').

[1] This form is unusual, but *penidium* or *penidia* (pl.), French *penide*, was a common remedy for colds. It was sugar made into little twisted sticks, like the modern barley sugar.

[2] Powdered sugar was used for roast birds, etc., where cooks to-day would use bread-crumbs (Le Grand d'Aussy, *Vie privée des Français*, ed. 1815, II., 261).

[3] Probably 'grains of Paradise,' the capsules of *Amomum meleguetta*. *Cf. New Eng. Dict., s.v.* 'grain.'

[4] Paeony seeds (med. Fr. *pienne*). *Cf.* Beton the Brewster's answer to Glutton's enquiry, 'Hastow auȝte in thi purs . any hote spices?' 'I have peper and piones,' quod she (*Piers Plowman*, ed. Skeat, Text B, Passus V., ll. 311-12).

[5] MS. *laqueo.*

[6] Giving the cloth a downy surface (*cf.* mod. Fr. *cotonner*).

Britonis .vij. d. Item pro .j. vlna cindonis ad easdem robas .x. d. Item pro .vj. paribus cirotecarum emptis ad opus puerorum contra Natale .xij. d.

Summa .lxj. s. xj. d. ob.

Item die Sabbati ante festum Natiuitatis domini pro .iiij.or libris penidiar' emptis ad opus domini et aliorum puerorum .iiij. s. Item pro .ij. libris diaboriginat' et .j. libra triasandal' .iij. s. Item pro percamena empta eodem die .iiij. d. Item eodem die pro .iiij. pomis granatoriis ad opus eorundem .xx. d. Item pro .j. libra licoricie empta ad dequoquendum cum aqua domini .iiij. d. Item die Dominica post octabas sancti Hillarii pro .iij. paribus cirotecarum furratarum grisarum ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .iij. s. iiij. d. Item eodem die pro .ij. libris diaboriginat' ad opus eorundem .ij. s. Item pro .j. libra triasandal et .j. libra penid' .iij. s. Item pro .ij. libris pulueris albi .xviij. d. Item die Lune proxima post diem Palmarum pro .j. vlna burnete empta ad caligas domini et sororis sue et Britonis .iij. s. vj. d. Item pro retonsione eiusdem et pro cotunacione .j. d. ob. Item die Mercurii sequenti pro .ij. libris albi pulueris emptis apud London' .xviij. d. Item liberatum cuidam apotecario London' pro zuchara et aliis minutis speciebus captis ad opus domini per particulas et diuersas vices per manus magistri Hugonis de Evesham per .j. talliam .x. s. Item pro speciebus et ciropis captis ad opus eiusdem per manus magistri .W. Prouincialis .iiij. s. viij. d. Item die Lune ante festum Pentecostes pro .iij. vlnis burnete de worthested' emptis ad caligas domini et sororis sue et Britonis .ij. s. vj. d. Item die Lune ante festum sancte Trinitatis pro .xvj. vlnis tele subtilis emptis ad quatuor paria pannorum lineorum ad R[obertum] Walerand et R[ogerum] de sancto Andrea .iiij. s. viij. d. Item consuendis dictis pannis lineis .iiij. d. Item eodem [? die] pro .ij. libris penid' et .j. libra diaboriginat' emptis ad opus domini .iij. s. Item pro .ij. pomis granatoriis .xij. d. Item liberatum Roberto de Montepellar' pro zuchara ciropis et aliis speciebus captis ad opus domini H[enrici]. . . .[1] et domini G[alfridi] et per manus magistri Hugonis de Evesham per .j. talliam .vj. s. Item pro .iij. vlnis et dimidia de burrello emptis ad opus Rogeri perdicis garcionis .R.Walerand' per preceptum domini R[oberti] Burnel .vj. s. x d. Item eodem die pro .vj. vlnis de blueto emptis ad .ij. tabarda R[oberti] Walerand' et R[ogeri] de Sancto Andrea per preceptum eiusdem domini R[oberti] Burnel .xv. s. precii vlne .ij. s. vj. d. Item pro retonsione et cisione eiusdem panni .ix. d. Item pro tenis et cirotecis[2] ad opus R[oberti] Walerand et R[ogeri] de Sancto Andrea .viij. d. Item die Martis ante festum sancti Barnabe apostoli pro .iij. libris penidiar' ad

[1] The words following were first struck through and afterwards scratched out.

[2] Caps and gloves.

opus domini H[enrici] .iij. s. Item pro .ij. libris zuchare rosete ad opus eiusdem .ij. s. Item pro .ij. libris diaboriginat' .ij. s. Item pro .j. libra zuchare violacee .xij. d. Item pro .j. quartario olei amigdalorum et .j. quartario olei violete emptis ad opus domini Alianore eodem die .xij. d.

Summa .iiij. lb. vij. s. viij. d. ob.

Item die Sabbati ante festum Natiuitatis beati Johannis Baptiste pro .vj. paribus cirotecarum emptis ad opus domini et sororis sue et Britonis .xij. d. Item eodem die pro .xlviij. vlnis tele subtilis emptis ad .iiij.^{or} paria lincheaminum ad opus R[oberti] Walerand et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et J[ohannis] de Weston' .xij. s. precii ulne .iij. d. Item pro dictis lincheaminibus suendis et reparandis .vj. d. Item pro .xij. vlnis tele subtilis ad pannos lineos domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .v. s. precii vlne .v. d. Item pro .x. vlnis canubie emptis ad cooperiendas robas eorundem et ad naperones in coquina et ad alia necessaria .xx. d. Item die Lune proxima post festum Translacionis sancti Thome martiris pro .iij. paribus caligarum nigri burneti [1] de worthested' emptis apud London' ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .ij. s. vj. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum beate Marie Magdalene pro .xij. vlnis tele emptis apud Cantuariam ad .j. cortinam ad opus domini faciendam .iij. s. vj. d. Item pro tinctura eiusdem cortine ibidem per manus Kenist .xviij. d. Item pro .xviij. anulis latonis emptis ad eandem .ix. d. Item eodem die pro iiij^{or} manutergiis emptis ad manus et pedes domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis et ad garderobam domini ibidem .iij. s. viij. d. Item die Veneris proxima post festum sancti Jacobi [2] apostoli pro .iij. libris penid' emptis apud Lond' ad opus domini .iij. s. Item pro .ij. libris zuchare rosete emptis ibidem .ij. s. Item pro .ij. libris zuchare violacee .ij. s. Item pro .j. libra triasandal' et .ij. libris diaboriginat' .iij. s. Item pro oleo amigdalorum et oleo violete emptis ad opus domini Alianore ibidem .xij. d. Item pro .iij. libris albi pulueris emptis apud Cantuariam .ij. s. iij. d. Item die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Petri ad Vincula in aduentu domini Regis apud Cantuariam pro .iij. paribus cirotecarum ad opus domini .H.[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .ix. d.

Summa .xlvj. s. j. d.

m. 3. Die Sabbatis proxima ante festum sancti Bartholomei apostoli pro .iij. libris zuchare rosete et violete emptis ad opus domini .iij. s. Item pro .j. libra penid' empta ad opus eiusdem .xij. d. Item liberatum eodem die pro allocacione .j. garcionis adiuuantis Johannem cissorem ad consuendas robas domini et sororis sue et Britonis contra festum Coronacionis domini Regis et ad alia opera facienda videlicet per .iiij. dies .xij. d. Item die Lune

[1] MS. *bruneti*. [2] MS. *Jocobi*.

ante festum sancti Michaelis quando dominus H[enricus] fuit infirmus pro .ij. libris diaboriginat'[1] emptis apud London' ad opus eiusdem .ij. s. Item pro .j. libra et dimidia triasandal' .xviij. d. Item pro .iiij. libris penid' iiij. s. Item pro .j. libra candi[2] .vj. d. Item pro ciropis et aliis minutis speciebus emptis ibidem ad opus eiusdem .iiij. s. vj. d. Item pro .xxxvj. piris de calloue' emptis ibidem ad opus eiusdem .vj. d. Item pro dimidia uncia serici empta ibidem ad opus domine Alienore .vj. d. Item pro dimidio quarterio auri .iij. d. Item pro .ij. paribus cirotecarum emptis ad opus domine Alienore et Britonis .iiij. d.

Summa .xix. s. j. d.

Item die Martis proxima post festum sancti Luce[3] in obitu domini H[enrici] pro .viij. libris lane emptis ad ponendum in feretro in quo corpus domini H[enrici] fuit positum et ductum apud Westmonasterium .v. s. iiij. d. Item pro cordellis emptis ad dictum feretrum et ad alia necessaria circa corpus .xij. d. Item pro faccione feretri .viij. d. Item pro .v. vlnis tele emptis ad inuoluendum dictum corpus .ij. s. j. d. Item pro .ij. libris cere ad cerandum dictum pannum lineum .xiij. d. (Item pro cl. libris cere emptis)[4] ad cereos faciendos circa predictum corpus .lxxv. s. Pro incenso ad dictum corpus .iij. d.

Summa .iiij. lb. v. s. v. d.

Summa totalis istius particule .xv. lb. iij. d.

Die Martis proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli anno supradicto pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item die Sabbati ante festum sancti Michaelis pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domine Amicie nutricis domini H[enrici] et domine Cecilie nutricis domine Alienore et domini Mabille nutricis Britonis .ij. s. Item pro .j. pari sotularium ad opus Alicie de la Grave berceresse .vij. d. Item eodem die pro .iiij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et Ricardi Ciffrewast et Nicholai de Ba et Johannis de Weston' .ij. s. Item pro .iiij. paribus caligarum ad opus eorundem .iiij. s. viij. d. Item die Mercurii ante festum apostolorum Symonis et Jude pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item die Dominica sequenti pro .ij. paribus sotularium ad opus N[icholai] de Ba et J[ohannis] de Weston' .xij. d. Item eodem die pro .j. pari sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' .vj. d. Item pro .j. pari caligarum ad opus eiusdem Thome in recessu suo .xij. d. Item die Mercurii ante festum Omnium

[1] MS. *dialboriginat'*.

[2] Another friend of Bancquet's was *sucre candis pour les poussifz* (N. de la Chesnaye, *op. et loc. cit*).

[3] 23 Oct., 1274.

[4] A line is drawn through the words within brackets.

Sanctorum pro .j. pari sotularium ad opus R[icardi] Cyffrewast .vj. d. Item die Sabbati post festum sancti Martini pro sotularibus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item die Mercurii ante festum sancti Andree apostoli pro sotularibus ad opus eorundem .x. d. ob.

Summa .xv. s. ix. d.

Item die Sabbati ante festum Natalis domini pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item eodem die pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .xviij. d. Item pro .iij. paribus caligarum ad opus eorundem .iij. s. iij. d. Item pro .iij. paribus cirotecarum ad eosdem .iiij. d. ob. Item eodem die pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domine Amicie nutricis domini H[enrici] et domine Cecilie nutricis domine Alianore et domine Mabille nutricis Britonis .ij. s. Item pro .j. pari sotularium ad opus Alicie de la Grave berceresse .vij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum Purificacionis beate Marie pro .vj. paribus sotularium ad opus domini et sororis sue et Britonis .xxj. d. Item eodem die pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .xviij. d. Item die Lune proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli pro .ij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini et Britonis .vij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum Ramorum Palmarum pro vno pari sotularium ad opus Thome de Valoys empto per preceptum domini H[enrici] .v. d. Item pro caligis emptis ad opus eiusdem .x. d. Item die Mercurii ante Pascham pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item eodem die pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .xviij. d. Item pro caligis ad opus eorundem .iij. s. iiij. d. Item pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus domine Amicie nutricis domini H[enrici] et domine Cecilie nutricis domine Alianore et domine Mabille nutricis Britonis .ij. s. Item pro sotularibus Alicie berceresse .vij. d.

Summa .xxj. s. xj. d. ob.

Item die Dominica ante festum sancti Marci [1] Ewangeliste pro .iiij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .xiiij. d. Item pro aguletis [2] ad sotulares domine Alianore .j. d. Item eodem die pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[icardi] Syfrewast .xviij. d. Item die Martis ante festum Ascencionis domini pro .ij. paribus hosarum emptis ad opus R[oberti] Walerand et R[icardi] Cifrewast per preceptum domini G[alfridi] vj. s. viij. d. Item pro .ij. paribus calcarium ad opus eorundem .vj. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum Pentecostes pro iiij. paribus sotularium ad opus domini

[1] MS. *Marcii.* [2] Laces.

H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .xiiij. d. Item eodem die pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus nutricum domini H[enrici] et domine Alianore et Britonis .ij. s. Item pro .j. pari sotularium ad opus berceresse .vij. d. Item pro .iiij.^{or} paribus sotularium ad opus R[oberti] Walerand et Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[icardi] Cifrewast .ij. s. Item pro caligis ad opus eorundem .iiij. s. iiij. d. Item die Sabbati ante festum Natiuitatis beati Johannis Baptiste pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[oberti] Walerand et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .ij. s. Item die Martis ante festum sancti Petri ad Vincula pro sotularibus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item eodem die pro .iiij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de Sancto Andrea et R[oberti] Walerand' et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .ij. s. Item pro .iiij^{or}. paribus caligarum ad opus eorundem .iiij. s. ij. d. Item die Sabbati post festum Assumpcionis beate Marie pro sotularibus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis emptis contra festum Coronacionis domini Regis .xij. d. Item die Mercurii ante festum Natiuitatis beate Marie pro .iiij.^{or} paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[oberti] Walerand' .et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .ij. s. Item eodem die pro sotularibus domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .x. d. ob. Item die Sabbati in festo sancti Michaelis pro .iij. paribus sotularium ad opus nutricum domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis .ij. s. Item pro sotularibus berceresse .vij. d. Item die Sabbati sequenti pro .ij. paribus sotularium ad opus domine Alianore et Britonis vij. d. Item eodem die pro .iiij. paribus sotularium ad opus Thome de Merton' et R[ogeri] de sancto Andrea et R[oberti] Walerand' et R[icardi] Cyfrewast .ij. s. Item pro caligis ad opus eorundem .iiij. s. iij. d.

Summa .xliij. s. ij. d. ob.

Item pro sotularibus et calciamentis Johannis cissoris a die Martis proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli anno regni domini Regis E[dwardi] primo vsque diem Sabbati proximam post festum sancti Michaelis anno eiusdem domini Regis secundo .iiij. s. iiij. d. Item Kenist hostiario camere domini H[enrici] pro sotularibus et calciamentis per idem tempus .iiij. s. iiij. d. Item Johanni garcioni domine Alianore pro calciamentis per idem tempus .iiij. s. iiij. d. Item Juliane lotrici pro sotularibus et calciamentis per idem tempus .ij. s. .iiij. d. Item garcioni Thome de Merton' pro sotularibus per idem tempus .ij. s. Item garcioni Ricardi Cyfrewast pro sotularibus per idem tempus .ij. s. Item garcioni Roberti Walerand pro sotularibus et calciamentis a die Mercurii in festo Inuencionis sancte crucis vsque diem Sabbati post festum sancti Michaelis proximum sequens videlicet per xxij. septimanas xiiij. d. Item pro sotularibus garcionis R[ogeri]

de Sancto Andrea a festo Pasche vsque dictum diem Sabbati post festum sancti Michaelis .xviij. d.

Summa .xxiiij. s. Summa totalis istius particule .c. iiij. s. xj. d.

m. 2. De oblacionibus inceptis die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Mathei apostoli anno supradicto. Dicta die Dominica in oblacione domini H[enrici] et sororis sue et Britonis et domini G[alfridi] de Picheford' .iiij. d. Die Martis sequenti in oblacione apud sanctum Momartre ex[tra] Gildeford' .iij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancti Michaelis .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Francisci confessoris .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Edwardi Regis .iiij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancti Edwardi Regis .vj. d. Item datum .iij. viduis vigilantibus in orationibus pro domino H[enrico] .iij. d.[1] Die Dominica ante festum sancti Luce Ewangeliste pro domino G[alfrido] iiij. d. Die Jouis in festo sancti Luce Ewangeliste .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum apostolorum Symonis et Jude .iiij. d. Die Dominica in festo apostolorum Symonis et Jude .iiij. d. Die Mercurii in festo Omnium Sanctorum pro tota familia xxij. d. Item datum .iij. viduis vigilantibus pro domino H[enrico] .vj. d. Item in elemosina distributa pauperibus de contrata[2] vj. d. Die Jouis in die Animarum .vj. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Leonardi .iiij. d. Die Martis in festo sancti Leonardi .iij. d. Die Sabbati in festo sancti Martini .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Hugonis episcopi .iiij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancti Hugonis .iij. d. Die sancti Edmundi Confessoris .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Edmundi Regis .iiij. d. Die Lune in festo sancti Edmundi Regis .iij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancti Clementis .iiij. d. Die Sabbati in festo sancte Katerine virginis vij. d. pro domino G[alfrido] et .ij. nutricibus. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Andree apostoli .iiij. d. Die Jouis in festo sancti Andree apostoli .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Nicholai .iiij. d. Die Mercurii in festo sancti Nicholai ix. d. Die Veneris in festo Concepcionis beate Marie in oblacione [pro] domino G[alfrido] et domina de Fiens .v. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancte Lucie virginis .iiij. d. Die Mercurii in festo sancte Lucie virginis .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Thome apostoli .iiij. d. Die Jouis in festo sancti Thome apostoli .iiij. d.

Summa xiij. s.

Die Lune in festo Natalis domini in oblacione domini H[enrici] et familie sue et militum et dominarum circumstancium .iij. s. vj. d. ob. Item eodem die datum ad oblacionem familie domine Regine ex parte domini

[1] This is 13 Oct., 1273. On 1 Nov. (below) widows were again praying on Henry's behalf. This suggests a serious illness.

[2] MS. $\bar{q}$.

H[enrici] per preceptum domini G[alfridi] .iij. s. vj. d. Die Martis in festo sancti Stephani .iiij. d. Die Mercurii in festo sancti Johannis .iij. d. Die Jouis in festo sanctorum innocentium .iiij. d. Item datum episcopo fatuo[1] ex dono domini .xij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancti Thome martiris .iij. d. Die Dominica in Circumcisione domini .iiij. d. Die Lune in festo Circumcisionis domini .iij. d. Die Sabbati in festo Epiphanie domini .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Hillarii .iiij. d. Die Sabbati in festo sancti Hillarii .iij. d. Die Dominica sequenti .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Vincencii martiris .iij. d. Die Lune in festo sancti Vincencii .iij. d. Die Jouis in festo Conuersionis sancti Pauli .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum Purificacionis beate Marie .iiij. d. Die Veneris in festo Purificacionis beate Marie .xv. d. Die Dominica sequenti .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Valentini .iij. d. Die Mercurii in festo sancti Valentini .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum Cathedre sancti Petri .iij. d. Die Sabbati in festo sancti Mathie apostoli .iij. d. Die Dominica sequenti .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum Perpetue et Felicitatis .iiij. d. Die Mercurii in festo Perpetue et Felicitatis apud Kenigton' .xviij. d. quia dicta die fecit Comitisse Lincolnie celebrare missam pro anima filie sue. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Gregorii confessoris .iiij. d. Die Lune in festo sancti Gregorii .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Cuthberti Confessoris .iij. d. Die Martis in festo sancti Cuthberti Confessoris .iij. d. Die Dominica in festo Annunciacionis beate Marie .iiij. d. Die Dominica in Ramis Palmarum .vj. d. Die Jouis in Cena domini .ij. d. Die Veneris in Parasceue .xviij. d.

Summa .xx. s. xj. d. ob.

Die Dominica in die Pasche in oblacione .iiij. s. v. d. ob. apud Windesoram. Item datum ad oblacionem familie domine Regine ex dono domini .ij. s. Die Lune sequenti in oblacione .iij. d. Die Dominica in octabis Pasche .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Georgij martiris .iiij. d. Die Lune in festo sancti Georgij .iij. d. Die Mercurii in festo sancti Marci Ewangeliste .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi .iij. d. Die Martis in festo apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi .iij. d. Die Inuencionis sancte Crucis .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Johannis ante portam[2] latinam .iiij. d. Die Jouis in festo Ascencionis domini viij. d. Die Dominica ante festum Pentecostes .iiij. d. Die Dominica in festo Pentecostes .iij. s. iiij. d. Die Lune sequenti .iij. d. Die Dominica in festo sancte Trinitatis .v. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Barnabe apostoli .iiij. d.

[1] The 'boy bishop' who when the words '*deposuit potentes*' were reached at vespers on the evening of St. John's day changed places with the bishop, and played at exercising episcopal functions for the rest of that and the next day, in memory of the Holy Innocents.

[2] MS. *portinam*.

Die Lune in festo sancti Barnabe apostoli .iij. d. Die Dominica in festo sancti Botulphi .iiij. d. Die Dominica in festo sancti Johannis Baptiste .viij. d. Die Sabbati in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli .v. d. Die Dominica ante festum Translacionis sancti Thome martiris .iiij. d. Die Dominica in festo Translacionis sancti Thome martiris .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancte Margarete virginis .iiij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancte Margarete virginis apud Roucestr' ad feretrum sancti Willelmi .vj. d. Die Dominica in festo beate Marie Magdalene ibidem .iiij. d. Die Lune sequenti apud Prioratum extra Roucestr' ad magnum altare et ad ymaginem beate Marie .vj. d.

Summa .xviij. s. v. d. ob.

m. 1. Die Martis sequenti apud Hospring' ad missam celebratam in Hospitali .iij. d. Item datum ad exitum ecclesie leprosis .ij. d. Item eodem die apud Cantuariam[1] in oblacione ad feretrum beati Thome Martiris et ad omnes tumbas monasterii beati Thome .ij. s. ij. d. Item datum pauperibus in monasterio .ij. d. Die Mercurii sequenti videlicet in festo sancti Jacobi apostoli in oblacione ad tumbas sancti Augustini et ad .ij. tumbas proximas et ad missam ibidem celebratam .xij. d. Die Jouis sequenti in oblacione ibidem .xv. d. Die Veneris sequenti in oblacione ad feretrum sancti Adriani et ad missam ibidem celebratam .vj. d. Item eodem die in oblacione ad .iij. missas celebratas in monasterio sancti Augustini pro domino H[enrico] et sorore sua et Britone[2] .ix. d. Item die Sabbati sequenti in oblacione ad feretrum sancti Wlstani .vj. d. Item in oblacione ad missam .iij. d. Item die Dominica sequenti in oblacione .v. d. pro domina J[ohanna] de Somery et domino G[alfrido]. Die Lune sequenti .iij. d. Die Martis sequenti quando osculabantur reliquias sancti Augustini .iij. d. Item ad missam celebratam ibidem .iij. d. Die Mercurii in festo ad Vincula sancti Petri in oblacione puerorum et .ij. militum et .ij. dominarum circumstancium .vij. d. Item eodem die in oblacione ad .iij. tumbas .ix. d. Die Jouis sequenti ad fratres predicatores in oblacione .iij. d. Die Veneris sequenti in monasterio sancti Augustini quando conuentus eiusdem loci celebrauerunt missam pro anima domini Johannis fratris domini H[enrici] ad .iij. missas cum circumstantibus .iiij. s. ix. d. Item datum leprosis .iij. d. ob. Die Sabbati sequenti .iij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Laurencii martiris .viij. d. pro extraneis militibus circumstantibus. Die Lune sequenti .iij. d. Die Martis sequenti .iij. d. Die Mercurii sequenti apud fratres minores Cantuarie .iij. d. Item datum pauperibus ad exitum ecclesie .ij. d. ob. Die Jouis sequenti[3] apud Faversham in oblacione .xv. d. Die Veneris sequenti in festo sancti Laurencii apud Roucestr' .vj. d. Die Dominica ante

[1] 24 July, 1274. [2] MS. *sororis sue et Britonis.*
[3] 9 Aug. So the visit to Canterbury lasted sixteen days.

festum Assumpcionis beate Marie .iiij. d. Die Lune sequenti .iij. d. Die Mercurii in festo Assumpcionis beate Marie apud Merton' .ix. d. Die Dominica quando dominus Rex fuit coronatus[1] .vj. d. Die Lune sequenti apud Westmonasterium iij. d. Die Martis sequenti ad feretrum sancti Edwardi [et] regis Henrici et ad missam celebratam ibidem .ix. d. Die Jouis apud Kenigton' .iij. d.

Summa .xxj. s. vj. d.

Die Dominica ante festum sancti Bartholomei apostoli apud Windesoram .iiij. d. Die Veneris in festo sancti Bartholomei .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum sancti Egidij Abbatis .iiij. d. Die Dominica ante festum Natiuitatis beate Marie .iiij. d. Die Sabbati in festo Natiuitatis beate Marie .vj. d. Die Dominica sequenti .iiij. d. Die Veneris in festo Exaltacionis sancte Crucis .iij. d. Die Dominica sequenti .iij. d. Die Lune sequenti[2] in oblacione ad iij. missas de Sancto Spiritu celebratas pro domino H[enrico] in infirmitate sua .iij. d. Item die Martis sequenti in oblacione ad missas celebratas in villa de Gildeford' pro dicto domino H[enrico] .vij. d. Item datum .xiij. viduis vigilantibus per illam noctem in orationibus pro dicto domino H[enrico] .xiij. d. Item .iiij. pauperibus .iiij. d. die Veneris in festo sancti Mathei apostoli in oblacione pro dicto domino H[enrico] .vj. d. Die Mercurii (post festum sancti Michaelis)[3] in obitu domini H[enrici][4] in oblacione ad .iij. missas celebratas in ecclesia beate Marie de Gildeford' pro anima dicti domini H[enrici] .iiij. s. ij. d. Item in elemosina distributa pauperibus .vj. d. Item die Jouis sequenti apud Merton' in oblacione ad primam missam celebratam pro anima dicti domini [H]enrici .iij. s. vj. d. Item in oblacione ad secundam missam quando cives London' venerunt contra corpus .xviij. d. Item in elemosina distributa pauperibus inter Gildeford' et Westmonasterium .ij. s. iij. d.

Summa .xvij. s. iiij. d.

Summa totalis istius particule .iiij. lb. xj. s. iij. d.

Summa summarum istius rotuli .xlj. lj. xj. s. ij. d. ob.

[1] 19 Aug. [2] 17 Sept., 1274.

[3] The words within brackets have been struck out in the MS.

[4] *Cf.* p. 414 above, where his death is recorded on Tuesday, 23 Oct.

NOTES ON GREEK FROM THE LECTURES OF A NINTH CENTURY MONASTERY TEACHER.

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ALTHOUGH the learning and monastic teaching of the earlier part of the Middle Ages has engaged the attention of many scholars during recent years, that branch of this subject which is concerned with the study and teaching of Greek has been comparatively neglected. To some extent, no doubt, this is due to the very restricted amount of available evidence. At the same time, it has been too readily assumed that the occurrence of a few Greek words or phrases in a Latin writer was sufficient proof that the author had a working knowledge of Greek; and the view that, in spite of the barbarian invasions and the centuries of upheaval in the western portion of the Roman Empire, a certain amount of Greek learning had survived would appear, in the light of ascertained facts, to be quite untenable. The learned Bishop of Seville, Isidore, knew little or no Greek.[1] In England Bede, it is true, had a fair knowledge of that language,[2] but he was certainly quite exceptional in this respect, and in the neighbouring country of Wales it would appear that, as late as the eleventh century, Greek was practically not studied or taught.[3] This is the more remarkable in view of the proximity of Ireland.

It was Traube who first adduced weighty arguments to show that a knowledge of Greek in the earlier part of the Middle Ages was, in the West, confined to the Irish monks and their pupils.[4] Centres of monastic teaching like Armagh, Clonmacnoise, and Bangor continued to foster learning—and Greek studies were a part thereof—when in

[1] Cf. Lindsay in *Class. Quart.*, V., p. 44.
[2] Cf. Plummer, *Bedae op. hist.*, Introd., p. liv.
[3] Cf. Lawlor, *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch.*
[4] Cf. L. Traube in *Abhandl. der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philosoph.-Philol. Klasse*, 19, p. 361.

the Dark Ages the western provinces of the Empire seemed fated to lose all the culture that had been theirs. From the end of the sixth century devoted monks began to cross over from Ireland to the Continent to found new centres there and to carry on their missionary work. The expedition of Columban with his twelve companions at the end of that century led, for example, to the foundation of Luxeuil in France, and, a few years later, to that of Bobbio in Lombardy. To Columban's friend and companion, Gallus, was due the foundation about the same time of the great monastery at St. Gallen. During the seventh and eighth centuries such Irish missionary-teachers continued to make their way to the Continent, but it is in the time of Charlemagne and his immediate successors that a more general interest in and demand for learning developed. About several teachers of exceptional merit in the Carolingian period somewhat more information is available, and, in particular, some of their works have survived. Moreover they had a good knowledge of Greek. Sedulius Scotus wrote and taught at Liège during the middle of the ninth century. A Greek psalter written by him has been preserved and the same MS. contains extracts from the Greek version of the Old and New Testament with a Latin translation appended, and also Greek words and phrases with a Latin rendering from the *Divine Institutions* of Lactantius.

His contemporary, John Scotus Erigena, made Rheims the centre of his activities. He came to France in 840 and was still alive in 877. His translation of the works of the pseudo-Dionysius into Latin was made for Charles the Bald. Besides this, he wrote commentaries on this work and on the works of other writers, such as Martianus Capella, Priscian and Boethius. A pupil of John Scotus was the Irishman Martin who taught at Laon and died there in 875. A well-known MS. at Laon (Laudun. 444), is partly written by Martin and contains, amongst other items, some poems by Martin himself, explanations by him of Greek words in John Scotus' works and a short bilingual glossary which, as Prof. Lindsay suggests, was transcribed and perhaps compiled by Martin from LXX and the Itala Bible.[1]

[1] Cf. Poet. Lat. Ævi Carol., 3, 2, p. 523 and *ibid.*, p. 696-7 ; Lindsay in *Class. Rev.*, 31, p. 128. Considerable portions of Laudun. 444, were published by Miller in *Notices et Extraits des manuscr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, 29, 2 (1891), p. 118 ff.

Thus we get some insight into the books which would be used at that time for teaching Greek, to wit the Greek version of the Bible or selections from it, and translations and commentaries on Greek words and phrases in earlier grammarians or theological writers. Further, much use was made of bilingual glossaries like the two large compilations which have survived under the names of the Philoxenus and Cyrillus glossaries, or of phrase-books of the kind published by Goetz in Vol. III. of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. The latter are ultimately derived from a Greek-Latin phrase-book composed at the beginning of the third century and nowadays are commonly referred to collectively as the Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana.

In Vol. V. of the *C.G.L.* (pp. 583-6) Goetz published extracts from a MS. in the Vatican (Cod. Vat. Reg. 215) which he regarded as a glossary in the ordinary sense of the term. In reality the MS. (foll. 112^{r}-122^{v}) contains a collection of notes, most of them in alphabetical order, from the lectures on Greek given by Martin at Laon. The Vatican MS. has also preserved a short collection of Onomastica sacra, of which something more will be said below. The greater part of these lecture-notes, or, as the compiler calls them, Scholica Graecarum Glossarum, is also contained in a MS. in the British Museum (Royal 15A XVI. foll. 74^{r} ff.) which was unknown to Goetz. As Goetz used only one MS. and merely gave an apograph of a portion of it, while omitting many interesting items, it has seemed desirable to publish the whole text based on a collation of the two MSS. and so to add something to the very limited information at present available regarding Greek studies in the West at this time.[1] The 'Scholica' bear out Traube's view that the knowledge and teaching of Greek in this period were alike defective. Not only are the etymologies often far more fantastic than those found, e.g. in Isidore, but completely wrong interpretations are sometimes given for Greek words.[2] In the case of lecture-notes it is, of course, not possible, as it often is in the case of glossaries, to indicate exactly the sources from which the lecturer got his information. Some suggestions may, however, be made.

[1] I would take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to Prof. W. M. Lindsay, F.B.A., who first drew my attention to these MSS., for his kindness in obtaining for me rotographs of the Vatican MS. and for a number of valuable suggestions and criticisms of this paper.

[2] Cf. e.g. mandros in A9 and motron in C7.

That the 'Scholica' contain some glossary material is clear, as there are close parallels not only to the Philoxenus and Cyrillus collections, but occasionally also to the two oldest Latin collections, the Abstrusa and Abolita glossaries. Further there is a small number of medical glosses which are very similar to some of those published in *C.G.L.*, III., and their ultimate source may therefore be said with fair certainty to be the Hermeneumata. The number of authors demonstrably used directly or at second hand is small, to wit Isidore, Fulgentius, Martianus Capella, Sozomenus, and John Scotus, and there are two references to Juvenal and one to Vergil in passages not traceable to Isidore. It must, however, be remembered that there is no proof that Fulgentius, Capella, or Sozomenus were directly known to Martin, and as John Scotus wrote commentaries on various earlier works, e.g. on Capella, it may be suspected that he was the main source of Martin's inspiration. Of two passages (S 22 and Y 1) the first probably, the second undoubtedly, points to a use of LXX. Isidore's *Etymologies* was a storehouse of information from which teacher and glossary-compiler alike drew largely. In the A and B sections of the 'Scholica' there is a considerable number of passages taken verbally or with quite insignificant changes from Isidore and it has not seemed worth while to give these in full. The lemma-word and the reference to the *Etymologies* alone are given. In the later sections this verbal repetition —P 39 is a solitary exception—of Isidore does not occur but a number of passages bear a close resemblance to the earlier work, and in these cases the reference has been indicated for purposes of comparison. In one passage it is tempting to see a reproof of Isidore for an incorrect form of a word.[1]

Again the 'Scholica' contain sundry passages which reappear in compilations of a later date. Some twenty or more items are contained wholly or in part in the collection formerly called Glossæ Isidori, which as Loewe has shown were in reality collected by Scaliger.[2] Clearly, the MS. containing the 'Scholica' was one of those from which Scaliger got his material. A dozen entries or so in the 'Scholica' have a close parallel to the glosses printed in *C.G.L.*, V., pp. 657-660 from a Leyden MS. which, according to Goetz belongs to the tenth century. In view of the short interval of time between this MS. and the MSS. of the 'Scholica,' both of which belong to the end of

[1] Cf. A 71 and note thereon.

[2] *Prodromus*, p. 23 ff.

the ninth century, it is perhaps safer to assume a common source now lost (e.g. a Cicero MS. with marginal glosses) than to assert that the Leyden compiler was indebted to Martin.

The B.M. MS. of the 'Scholica' (hereafter called *R.*) stops short after the letter Y and is written in two hands; the second hand begins at P 27 and several marginal additions in the earlier part of the MS. are also by this scribe. Opposite the last page of writing in *R.* is a full-page drawing of a building, which is no doubt intended for a representation of the monastery building at Laon. The Vat. MS. (hereafter called *V.*) is written by the same hand throughout; after the letter Z there follows a short glossary of Hebrew names and words in Latin characters with Greek and Latin interpretations. This glossary is a typical example of collections of Onomastica sacra, which go back to Jerome and ultimately to Origen and Philo Judæus. No more need be said of these Onomastica as they have recently been fully investigated by Wutz, and practically every item in *V.* can be wholly or partly traced in the indices of Wutz's work.[1] After this there is in *V.* a miscellaneous collection of notes on Greek words not arranged alphabetically. A few of these occur in their proper place in *R.* and are there omitted by *V.*, but the bulk consists of Greek words with their Latin equivalents and no more. Many of these are technical terms used in metric and rhetoric and in all probability are marginal or oral explanations of words in some lost treatise on that subject. Perhaps the most interesting item in this group is the interpretation of a line from a poem of John Scotus.[2]

The use of Greek characters is limited to the Onomastica sacra in *V.* and to a few isolated words or quotations in both MSS. There is, however, one noteworthy difference; whereas *R.* uses the normal alphabet though not without spelling mistakes, in *V.* θ does duty for both θ and τ, and the vowels η, υ, ω for ϵ and η, ι, υ and occasionally diphthongs like $o\iota$, and o and ω respectively. As it would have been pointless to reproduce this form of writing, the words are given in their normal spelling and the few divergences from rule are indicated at the foot of the page. This method of writing, the spelling of some of the

[1] F. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra* (= Harnack und Schmidt, *Texte und Untersuchungen, etc.*, ser. 3, Vol. 11 (1915)).

[2] Cf. Misc. 60 and note thereon.

Greek words in Latin characters, and occasional wrong interpretations of a Greek word point the way to two interesting generalisations.

In the first place the pronunciation of Greek at this time—the evidence is chiefly for the vowel sounds—was clearly similar to that still in use in Modern Greek ; secondly the tuition given by Greek teachers seems to have been mainly oral, so that the pupil with but slight knowledge wrote down the word as well as he could phonetically. How else, for instance, is A 70 to be explained ? Apotistesei, except for the final syllable is a fair phonetic representation of ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως pronounced as already indicated ; again in the Onomastica sacra S 23 θαπυνως fairly represents ταπεινὸς and in the ' Scholica ' F 4 φαγολοίδορος and S 12 σολοικοφανής quite properly appear as fagolidoros and solicofanis. Of course these remarks apply only to those Greek words which had not actually been adopted in Latin and not to words like ephemeris or zelus. Rules for orthography given in the ' Scholica ' are at times quite correct, e.g. in C 8.

In editing the text slight misspellings—except in the case of the lemma-word—have been ignored as unimportant and tending to overburden the critical notes. Ae and e are interchangable in both MSS. and ae, e and e with a curved tail subscript all occur ; the normal spelling has been given irrespective of the MSS. reading in a particular word. The aim of the notes at the end is briefly to indicate the more important glossary parallels and to elucidate where possible historical and other references or to discuss obscurities. References to Fulgentius and Capella are given by page and line in the editions of these authors in the Teubner series ; similarly to Eucherius by page and line in the Vienna Corpus.

Sc<h>olica Graecarum Glossarum

Apocriphus Graece, Latine dicitur secretalis ; quo nomine censetur liber aliquid secreti in se continens, propter quod non est recitandus in publico, sive quia auctoris nomine non praetitulatur, ut sunt libri quorundam veterum, libri quoque hereticorum mendacia in se continentes, propter quod secretius sunt legendi, qui et apocriphi vocantur. Apo quidem Graeca praepositio est, crisis vero polysemum nomen non unum eundemque sensum semper retinens ; dicitur enim crisis aurum, dicitur et secretum.

Graecarum *om. R.* 1. non non est recit. *V.* sunt *om. V.* propter quem *R.* crisi- -posilenum *V.* nomen est *V.* retinens semper *V.*

Apocrisiarius: minister secretorum vel legatus a secretis responsis, unde beatus Gregorius apocrisiarius Romanae ecclesiae fuisse legitur, id est minister secretorum et legatus a secretis responsis.

Apologia: excusatio, inde apologeticus liber dicitur excusatorius; scribitur autem per unum L.

Archiater est princeps medicinae.

Acroama generale vocabulum est sonorum qui in instrumentis musicis <h> armonica fiunt suavitate.

Aphorismus est brevis sermo integrum sensum propositae rei continens. (Cf. Isid., *Et.*, 4, 10).

Aello dicitur quasi edon allom (-on), id est alienum tollens. (= Fulgent. *Myth*, 21, 20).

Anagoge dicitur sensus ad superiora ducens ac per hoc spiritalis; ana enim dicitur sursum.

Archimandrita: princeps ovium (!). Archon enim princeps, mandros vero dicitur ovis, licet etiam alio Graeco vocabulo probaton appelletur. Sancti ergo patres qui praeerant in [h]eremo quinquagenis et centenis vel eo amplius fratribus archimandritae vocabantur, quasi principes et pastores ovium spiritalium.

Ap[h]oros Graece, Latine dicitur incaute.

Adiaphoros: indifferenter.

Anagliffum (-glyph-) vas sursum sculptum; ana sursum, gliffum sculptum unde glyffare.

Apodixis: probatio et experimentum.

Asylum: templum refugii de quo nemo audebat reum illuc confugientem extrahere.

Adelphe: soror, quo nomine appellantur et gemini fratres.

Acharis: ingratus.

Amphiballus: birrus undique villosus.

Antistomachus: pars dorsi stomacho contraria.

Apotuidis (ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους?): informis materia. (See Note).

Avernus quasi ἄορνος, id est sine verno.

Amphibolon: dubium.

Ampliopia (ἀμβλυωπία): caligatio oculorum (= Herm.?)

Arteriot[h]omia est defectio (-sectio) venarum (= *ib.*?)

2. Apocrisarius *R.* 3. apologiticus *R.* 4. est *om. V.* 5. Acroma *R.* in *om. V.* 7. *om. V.* 8. Anagogen *V.* spiritualis *V.* 9. archos *R.* spiritualium *V.* 10. Aforos *V.* Latine *om. R.* 11. Adiaphorus *V.* 13. Apodixen *V.* 14. Asilum *R.* 17. byrrus *R.* 19. Apotuydis *R.* 20. om. *V.* above the line in *R.* d est sine laetitia in the second hand. 23 Arterithomia *R.* est *om. V.*

Apoferasis (*ἀποφόρησις*) : secundatio sanguinis (= *ib.* ?)

Anacolima (*-κόλλημα*) est illinimentum (= *ib.* ?)

Apozima (*-ζεμα*) : aqua cocta cum variis condimentis (= *ib.* ?)

Alalacmos Graece neque iubilum neque ululatum proprie significat sed clamorem quo acies pr<o>eliaturae se cohortantur ; pro quo clamore in Scriptura divina iubilatio ponitur.

Anatropia : stomachi sursumversio, dum quicquid acceperit vomit.

Antebiblium : pignus librorum.

Antigraphus : cancellarius.

Aspidopoi[e]ia : informatio scuti.

Abdomen : pinguedo.

Ab[b]aso : infirma domus quasi sine base.

Abissus (-by-) (= Isid. *Et.* 13, 20, 1).

Absida (= *ib.* 15, 8, 7).

Abstemius (= *ib.* 10, 11).

Academia : villa Platonis ubi ipse docebat, unde Academici dicti qui omnia incerta esse definiunt, nec esse aliquid in rebus ita verum ut non sit ambiguum.

Acephali : sine capite, id est qui nullum secuntur ; nam cephal<e> dicitur caput. (Cf. Isid. *Et.* 8, 5, 66).

Acoliti (-ythi) (= *ib.* 7, 12, 29).

Acrizimus (-ozym-) (= *ib.* 20, 2, 15).

Androgenica (*ἀνδρογύναικα*) : <h>ermafroditus, id est nec vir plenus nec mulier.

Aegilopium : vulnus quod intra oculum nascitur (= Herm. ?)

[A]elementum est unius cuiusque rei initium a quo sumitur incrementum et a quo resolvitur.

[A]enormis (= Isid. *Et.* 10, 14).

Aeonas Graeci vocant cuius neque initium neque extremum noscitur quod nos per derivationem aevum vocamus.

Aeonon (*αἰώνων, αἰώνιον* ?) Latine significat sempiternum vel saeculum.

Aevitas : perpetuitas vel aeternitas.

Agea (= Isid. *Et.* 19, 2, 4).

Agonitheta (-oth-) : praeliator vel praemii auctor sive qui agoni praesidet.

Alogia : convivium.

Alopicia est quae in capillosis locis nascitur et ingerit foeditatem. Est autem capillorum fruor (fl-) circum scriptorum quam Graeci ypsilos

27. cohortant *V.* (i.e. the suspension mark omitted). 28. Anatropiæ *R.* 31. sti *V.* 33. Abbasso *R.* 37. diffiniunt *R.* 45. Graeci dicunt *V.* 46. Latine significat *om. V.* 51. Alopina *R.* ipsilos *R.*

vocant; est enim passio stricturae. Denique generatur haec causa ex malis humoribus; si fuerit alopicia alba, scias ex flegmate (ph-) generatam; si viridis, ex felle rufo; si nigra, ex felle nigro. <51a> (= Isid. *Et.* 4, 8, 1).

Ambro: luxuriosus profusus consumptor sive devorator hominum.

Ambusilla: venter.

Amphi<s>baena (= Isid. *Et.* 12, 4, 20).

Amphibia (= *ib.* 12, 6, 3).

Amphitapa (= *ib.* 19, 26, 5).

Amphit<h>eatrum (= *ib.* 18, 52).

Analogium (= *ib.* 15, 4, 17).

Anod<yn>ia: medicina quae dolores ad praesens mitigat, tantum non sanat.

Antarcticos (= Isid. *Et.* 3, 44, 3).

Antecoenia id est merenda, quasi post meridiem et edenda et proxima cenae. (cf. *ib.* 20, 2, 12).

Antiae (= *ib.* 19, 31, 8).

Antiphona (= *ib.* 6, 19, 7).

Antipedes (-pod-) (= *ib.* 11, 3, 24).

Antistes (= *ib.* 7, 12, 16).

Antit<h>eta (= *ib.* 2, 21, 5).

<H>aema: sanguis; inde anima quasi anema, hoc est sine sanguine.

Antileporgosin (*ἀντιπήρωσιν*?) dicunt Graeci talionem.

Agape: caritas; unde pastiones, quae causa caritatis Dei in pauperes aguntur, agapae vocantur.

Apotistesei (*ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως*) dicuntur thesauri <i.e.> a positione (!)

Anabola ornamentum est muliebre a collo dependens, a quo primitivo nomine derivatur anabolarium. Est autem similiter ornamentum muliebre a collo dependens quod vulgo <h>alsfanonem dicitur. Ana siquidem sursum dicitur, bule consilium, unde componitur hoc nomen quid (-od) est anabola vel anabolarium, eo quod a collo sursum incipiens dependere pectus cooperiat ubi consilium gestatur. Scribitur vero per R anabolarium non per D anaboladium sicutin quibusdam codicibus corrupte legitur.

Agasones dicuntur custodes equorum, quos rustici marscalcos vocant.

51. vocant et est pass. *V.* haec causa *om. V.* scias *om. V.* generatur *V.* rubeo *V.* 52. Cf. *Thes. Gloss.* s.v., where Goetz suggests devorator bonorum. 60. Antacticos *R.* in the interpretation *RV.* have quintus, *Isid.* quartus 61. meridiem edenda *V.* 68. Antilepargosin *V.* 71. quo operiat *R.* 72. Agasenes *R.*

Anaphus : vas vinarium, quod rustici appellant hanappum per duo PP ; rectius autem scribitur per unum P et H anaphus, sicut et triumphus. Graeci enim dicunt illud anaphos et <o>inophoros ; ana etenim sursum, phos dicitur lux unde dicitur anaphos Graece et Latine anaphus, eo quod labra habet pansa lucemque sursum plenissime accipiat. Ynophoros (Oi-) etiam potest appellari quasi vinum ferens, quod Graeci ynon (*οἶνον*) vocant.

<H>agios : sanctus.

Athanatos : sine morte, id est inmortalis.

Apage sis significat discede vel dimitte sive cessa.

Acrostichi[di]s : initium versus, quia acron initium dicitur, stichos versus.

Athleta : luctator sive pugnator.

Aloxen (?) id est sine dulcedine, quod proprie est absinthium.

Apocatasticus : adstans uno in loco scilicet consistens ; sicut manifestum est planetas aliquando anteire solem, nunc retrogradas (-os) esse, nunc stationarias (-os) ; unde soliti sunt mathematici dicere ' Saturnus apocatasticus est.'

Artos : panis.

Analitica(-ly-) : resolutoria.

Anomalum : inaequale.

Allopaphia (—*πάθεια*) : extrinsecus ab aliis illata passio.

Anachoresis : officium super choros.

Anachoreta est princeps super choros, quo nomine appellabantur sancti patres qui [h]eremi vastitatem appetentes super omnes choros monachorum simul degentium primatum quodam modo spiritalis vitae obtinebant.

Anicos : invictissime. (cf. K 5).

Agamemnon : fortis.

B.

Basileus Graece, Latine dicitur rex.

Basilica : aula regia, unde hominem quem vulgo appellant palatinum Graeci basilidos vocant, hoc est de aula regia ; inde liber Regum basilion appellatur.

Bule : consilium vel sermo.

73. anappum *R.* rectius per un. p et h scrib. *R.* et *om. V.* ymnoforos *V.* above dicitur anaphos the 2nd hand has written molas in *R.* ferens g quod *R.* 74. *om. V.* 75. *om. V.* 76. Apagessis *R.* et cessa *R.* 77. dicitur *om. V.* 79. cf. Thes. Gloss. s.v. absinthium ; it seems to confirm the conjecture of Darmesteter-Hatzfeld *ἀλοὴ ὀξίνης.* adsinthium *R.* 80. aliquando *om. V.* 82. *om. V.* 86. spiritalis *V.* 87. *om. V.* 88. *om. R.* B 2. vulgo *om. V.* palatinam *R.*

Bulotes (-eut-) : consiliarius vel sermocinator.

Biothanatus : bis mortuus. (cf. Isid. *Et.* 10, 31).

Bilis : c<h>olera rubea.

Baccaulus (Bacapulus ?) : in quo mortui efferuntur.

Bali (*βάλλειν*) *et* balenae (= Isid. *Et.* 12, 6, 7).

Balista (= *ib.* 18, 10, 2).

Balneis (= *ib.* 15, 2, 40).

Barones Graeco nomine dicti, quod sint fortes in labore ; unde et barba dicta, quod sit indicium virtutis. Bari (*βαρὺς*) enim dicitur gravis, quod est fortis. Cui contrarium est levis, id est infirmus et imbecillis. (cf. *ib.* 9, 4, 31).

Barritus : vox elephantis.

Baptismus : tinctio ; ipsam siquidem tinctionem spiritu gratiae in melius permutamus, cum exuta deformitate scelerum accipimus dealbationem virtutum. (cf. *ib.* 6, 19, 44).

Barat<h>rum : vorago, praecipitium nimiae altitudinis, profunditas.

Barbarus (Bardus) : tardus, obtusus, imperitus, stolidus, incomptus.

Bariptos (= *ib.* 16, 11, 5).

Basanites (= *ib.* 16, 5, 6).

Basilicae (= *ib.* 15, 4, 11) <18[a]> Basilei<s> autem apud Graecos ob hanc causam reges vocantur quod tanquam bases populum sustineant.

Beniamin ex duobus verbis compositum nomen habet a filio et dextera ; Ben enim filius dicitur, iamin dextera, inde Beniamin dicitur filius dexterae. (cf. *ib.* 7, 7, 19).

Bariona in lingua nostra, sonat filius columbae et est nomen Syrum, pariter et Hebraeum ; Bar quippe lingua Syra filius, iona Hebraice columba.

Bioticus : saecularis sive mundanus.

Baen : ornamentum est colli ex auro et gemmis pretiosissimum, quod alio nomine torques potest dici. Quidam tamen dicunt ornamentum esse capitis.

Birotum : genus ve<h>iculi cum duabus rotis.

Bravium (*βραβεῖον*) : corona, inde braveta qui bravium accipit.

Badanola (Baianula) : lectus qui in itinere fertur (cf. Isid. *Et.* 20 11, 2).

7. Bacculus in mortui eff. *V.* 10. at the end of the passage from Isidore *RV* have gimnas vero nudus. 11. fortes in laboribus sint *V.* unde *to* virtutis *om. V.* 13. quidem *V.* 17. Bafanites *V.* 18[a]. Basillei *V.* 19. nomen est *V.* inde *to* dexterae *om. V.* 20. Sirum—sira *R.* 22. colli est *V.* 22. torquis *R.* 24. bravieta *V.* 25. quod *R.*

Bibliot<h>eca dicitur librorum commendatio, id est conscriptio atque in unum coadunatio. Bibli siquidem dicuntur libri, teche (thece) autem dicitur mandatum sive commendatum; est et aliud nomen entole, quod dicitur mandatum, sed tamen alium sensum obtinet. Quando dicitur entole mandatum pertinens ad praeceptum et iussum, atque aliud cum dicitur teche (thece) mandatum pertinens ad commendationem ut ibi servetur ad memoriam et diuturnitatem. Dicitur et a quibusdam quasi librorum positio, sed si ita illud esset nequaquam illud the aspirationem admitteret, quapropter quod primum diximus, ratum videtur.

Bostar: domus ubi boves stant.

Bubulcus: bovarius.

C

Cosmicos dicitur ortus vel occasus mundi vel illorum siderum quae in firmamento habentur.

Cliothedrum: sella plectilis.

Copa: vas vinarium, quod vulgo per U et per duo PP proferunt cuppam, sed melius per O et per unum P profertur copa. Copon (?) siquidem dicunt Graeci profundum, a quo copam dicimus; vas vero balnearium non copa per O sed cupa per U, eo quod nos intra se capiat.

Chelae: bracchia.

Cata: secundum.

Chrisis (*χρυσὸς*): aurum vel secretum, et est sermo poli<s>emus plures sensus continens. (cf. A1).

Cymiterium (*κοιμητήριον*): locus dormitionis; motron (!) siquidem dicunt Graeci dormire.

Chiragricus est qui manuum vel digitorum infirmitate laborat. Scribendum vero cum H quia Graece manus dicuntur *χειρα*; nam eandem vim tenet apud nos C et H aspiratio, quam apud Graecos X; ei vero per I accipitur.

Chirographus est manus scriptio; quando enim scriptura per medias litteras partitur et partem retinet qui foeneratur, partem qui accipit, id vocatur chirographus.

Cloaca: locus vel fossa extra civitatem in quam publicarum latrinarum

26. tehche *R.* aliud sensum *V.* si ita esset *V.* 27. *om. R.* 28. *om. R.* C 1. sive occ. *V.* id est ill. *R.* 3. cuppa melius *R.* dicunt copa *V.* balnearum *R.* 4. Cheli *R.* 6. polisenum nomen *V.* 7. Cimitherium *R.* motrhon *V.* 8. Chiragrecus *R.* quia Graece dicitur *χηυπα V.* *ηυ* vero *V.* 10. qua *R.*

stercora egeruntur; in quem scilicet locum corpora sanctorum martyrum causa despectionis iactabant pagani.

Condilomata (-dyl-) sunt nodositates quas patiuntur artetrici (arthrit-) digitorum. Felix Capella (p. 24, l. 12) introducit Τύχην, id est Fortunam, diversorum capita conterentem complicatis in condilos (-dyl-) digitis, hoc est in nodositates.

Climacterica sunt incerta rerum profugia. Cum enim mathematici in stellarum motu genituram hominum computant, quicquid extra triginta partes signi occurrerit, illud scilicet spatiolum, quo sol de uno signo exiens in aliud transit, climactericum vocant, id est incertum rei profugium. Scribitur autem in prima sillaba (sy-) per l.

Campse: convertibiliter.

Cohors prætoria dicitur quæ circa prætorem vigiliarum excubias agit.

Centuriatus ordo: militaris dignitas.

Catapulta: machina emittendis tormentis apta.

Centones: filtra.

Catascopus: explorator.

Cataclismus (-cly-): diluvium.

Choicus: terrenus.

Cicures: porci domestici.

Cola: membrum (-a).

Comma: particula, commatice breviter et cum quadam incisione.

Cameumi (χαμαιεύναι) dicuntur solo humo cubantes.

Cosmographus: mundi descriptor.

C<h>orographi: regionum descriptores.

Canterius: equus castratus.

Catec<h>izo: instruo; inde catec<h>uminus (-men-) dicitur instructus vel potius qui instruitur, scribiturque per E.

Chirurgici sunt qui manibus operantur aut secando aut operando aliquid ferramentis.

Culleum: vas pice oblitum.

Cidaris et tiara et mitra unum sunt, pilleus scilicet calamaucus, capellus, cufia sive galerus.

Colimbus (-ly-): locus ubi mundantur vestimenta vel aquarum lacus fluentes.

10. iactabantur *V*. pagani *om*. *V*. 11. τιχην *R*. tichen written above. digitibus *V*. 12. rerum *om*. *V*. climacteriunt *V*. regi *V*. 13. Camse *R*. 14. pretorium *V*. 18. Catasscopus *V*. 20. *om*. *V*. After 22 *R*. has Cacon: malum, inde cacum hominem dicimus malitiosum, cf. 33 below. 23. Coma *R*. 27. Canterus *V*. 28. instructus pons vel *R*. 29. first aut *om*. *R*. 29. fermentis *V*. 30. Culeum *R*. 31. Cydarim *R*. scilicet pilleus *V*. galerum *V*.

Cacon : malum ; inde dicimus cacum hominem malitiosum.

Colossi : statuae magnitudinem excedentes humanam.

Comos : villa ; comici dicuntur quasi villani poetae qui villarum causas scribebant in ipsis villis, unde etiam turpia quaeque conscribebant; vel, sicut quidam volunt, a comptis verbis dicuntur comici, unde comedia<e> appellantur illorum poetriae, vel a comis id est villulis vel a comptis verbis vel etiam a comestione, quia idcirco huiusmodi rebus studebant ut questum gulae adipiscerentur, unde dicuntur comediae quasi comessorum odae.

Chroma : color.

Choraula : princeps chori ludorum, quo nomine potest dici totus chorus.

Columbar : genus vinculi.

D

Dio<e>cesis : propria gubernatio.

Didascalus : magister ; didascalica ars magistralis.

Diathrie (διαῖται) dicuntur omnes pariter cibi qui infirmis conceduntur utendi.

Diamoron : moratum (cf. Isid. *Et.* 4, 9, 9).

Dextrochirium est ornamentum dextrae manus, idem est et armilla, nam χειρα manus.

Dulos : serv[it]us, unde a quibusdam dicitur adulescens quasi sine servitute, qui viriliter agens in ea aetate iugum servitutis aut de collo proicit, aut etiam omnia dura pro ni[c]hilo deputat.

Doma : tectum sive domus.

Docma (Dog-) : doctrina.

Diadema : ornamentum capitis ex auro et gemmis contextum, idem est et corona (cf. Isid. *Et.* 19, 31, 1).

Diptic<h>a[e] (-ty-) Graece, Latine tabellae quas ferimus appellantur.

Diametrum : medietas spherae, linea illa videlicet quae sphaeram secat per medium hoc modo ⊕. Annus autem ex diametro suscipitur cum quis non a capite signiferi sed a medio incipit conputare, unde cuidam dicitur annus tuus ex diametro susceptus est.

Διὸς : Iovis.

33. inde *to* malitiosum *om. R.* cf. not. crit. on 22 above. 34. Colosi *R.* 35-7. After Comos : villa there follow in *V.* 36 and 37, then comici dicuntur, etc. quaeque turpia scribebant *V.* poetria *V.* villis *V.* unde *to* odae *om. V.* 36. Color croma *R.* 37. Coraula *R.* 38. *om. R.* D 2. magisterialis *V.* 3. Diatrhiae *V.* 4. Diamorem *R.* 5. est est et *V.* (the first abbrev. ÷) nam . . . manus *om. V.* 6. vivide agens *V.* omni dura *V.* 10. Dyptica *V.* 11. illa *om. R.* Per medium *om. R.* quisnam capite *R.* taus *R.* 12. *om. V.*

E

Ergastulum est locus exilii custodiae captivorum atque reorum deputatus, ubi non sunt tenebrae, sed ibi deputati diversis operibus affliguntur metalla scilicet fodiendo aut marmora secando. Erga enim opera, ergia (!) operatio dicitur, stolon captivus (!), unde in psalmo (103, 24 *Vulg.*) ubi nos cantamus 'Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine,' Graec<um> habet 'ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε.'

Emblema polisemum (-ly-) nomen est; nam uno sensu dicitur anaglyffum (-ph-) vas, secundo superabundantia, tertio variatio lapillorum, quae fit in pavimento ex variis minutissimisque lapillis.

<H>emistichium: dimidius versus.

Erga ke (καὶ) <h>emeras: opera et dies.

<H>elios: sol; heliacos ortus vel occasus solis.

Elenchos sive elemchus dicitur titulus librorum a sole qui Graece <h>elios appellatur, sicuti a Titane titulus. Sicut enim sol illuminat suo iubare mundum ita capitula vel tituli illustrant sequentia librorum.

Ele<e>mosina (-sy-) dicitur Dei mei donum; et est potius dicendum per E ele<e>mosina a Graeco ἐλεος quam elimosina per I. Nam eleos (Eloe?) Graeco (Hebraeo) vocabulo dicitur Deus. (Cf. T7.)

Ephyppia (-ip-) dicitur ornamentum equorum.

Epibatae: qui navigaturis superveniunt et dato pretio transportari solummodo cupiunt.

Emlenia (Emblema): figura.

Ethos: moralitas.

<H>emera: dies.

Ephemeris dicitur unius diei digestio sive computatio, computus videlicet mathematici singulorum dierum vel siderum, de quo Iuvenalis sat<i>rarum secundo (6, 572) 'illius occursus etiam vitare memento, in cuius manibus ceu pinguia sucina tritas cernis ephemeridas.' Graeci enim diem ἡμέραν dicunt. Ephemeris etiam

E 1. capt. cust. deput. atque reor. *V.* stolon *om. V.* but there is a lacuna after dicitur. unde *to* κύριε *om. V.* 2. polisenum *V.* uno semum *R.* anagliffum *R.* tertia *V.* 4. kemeras *V.* Between 5 and 6 *V.* has Emlema figura; Ethos moralitas. Cf. 10-11 below. 6. Elemcos-elemcus *V.* eleos *V.* tatulus *V.* 7. eleos *V.* elemosina per I *R.* nam *to* deus *om. V.* 8. dicitur *om. V.* ornamenta *V.* 9. Ephibate *V.* superveniens dato pretio asportari *V.* 10-11. *om. V.* cf. not. crit. above before 6. 13. dicitur *om. V.* degestio seu *R.* compotus *R.* singularum *V.* qua *R.* satyrum *V.* succina *R.* ημεραη *R.* ημηραν *V.*

dicitur annalis computatio continens seriem totius anni descriptam.

Et[h]esiae sunt blandissimae aurae naturali motu aeris concitatae.

Entheca: pecunia ad commercium destinata.

Exomologesis: confessio.

Emporium: mercatus.

Elogium proprie dicitur nota bona vel mala. In bono enim dicitur elogium quando in monumento res laudabiles conscribuntur, interdum in contrariam partem quando notatur aliquis propria nota, sicut cum dicimus Superbum et intellegitur Tarquinius; istud est enim eius elogium.

<H>emispheria medietas sphaerae vel circuli; nam sphaera circulus est.

<H>emiciclus (-cyc-): medietas cicli (cy-).

Emperius (ἔμπειρος or -ικός): intellegibilis.

<H>emiolia: sesqu<i>altera seu diapente (?), semis et tantum (totum) hoc est tantum (totum) et medietas tanti (toti).

Embolismus: super adcrescens.

Ephebus: inberbis; inde dicitur ephebian (-on) locus constuprationis ubi habebantur pueri inberbes ibique opus veneriae nefas perpetrabatur.

<H>emerinos: cotidianus.

Emancipati fili<i> dicuntur a servitio patris liberati cum more servorum servire debuerint.

Elimentum per l scribitur ut quibusdam videtur veniens a verbo quod est elimo id est formo ipsumque a nomine trahitur, quod est lima instrumentum fabri; sed melius ab <h>yle venit quod est Graec<um> et interpretatur materies, et mutatis litteris scribitur elementum, quod Graece dicitur stochium.

Episto<lo>graphe: epistolarum superscriptio.

Energia: imitatio et imaginatio alicuius rei; verbi gratia ut est imitatio quando mimi imitantur alios.

Epitome: supercisio quae de maiori corpore librorum carptim ac defloratim excerpitur, quae alio nomine brevis expositio ac succincta potest appellari. Quonomine solent Graecorum auctores succinctas et defloratas ex aliis doctoribus expositiunculas appellare.

16. Exhom. *R.* 17. Emptorium *V.* 18. eius *om. V.* 19. Sperae *V.* 21. *om. V.* 22. sesqualteras eudrapente *R.* 24. ephebus locus *R.* 26. *om. V.* 27. *om. V.* 29. qua mimi *R.* above these words id est iocular <es> in the second hand *R.* 30. Epitoma *V.* succinta . . . -as *V.*

F

Fronimos (Ph-): sapiens.

Farmacopulus (Ph-): medicus qui medicamenta proponit ad vendendum.

Farmacopula (Ph-): medicamenta.

Fagolidoros (*φαγολοίδορος*): manducans senecias vel sicut quibusdam videtur sinancias. Sinanciae sunt folia gulae et est sensus: ille qui semper paratur ut aliorum facta deroget aliisque semper detrahit invidiae livore agitatur (-us), ad hoc tandem perveni[a]t ut folia gulae suae ipsamque linguam conmasticando conrodat cessetque a detractione.

Fantasia (Ph-): imaginatio.

G

Glossa: lingua. Quidam Latinorum proferunt glosam per unum S sed corrupte. Graecum siquidem est ideoque melius per duo SS glossa profertur, sicut et apud Graecos et bene proprietas unius cuiusque verbi glossa id est lingua illius dicitur, quia sicuti nos per linguam ostendimus quid in animo conceptum habeamus, ita per proprietatem verbi intellegitur sensus ipsius verbi.

Gesseripon (*γεωπονία* ?): terrae operatio.

Gymnus dicitur nudus, gimnasium (gy-) locus exercitii ubi nudi luctabantur. Gymnosophistae dicuntur philosophi qui nudi philosophabantur tecta pudenda corporis.

Ge Graece, Latine dicitur terra.

Graphia: scriptura.

Genethlion: nativitas, unde est genethlion tou kyrii (-ou) soter<os> ymon (*ἡμῶν*) id est nativitas huius domini salvatoris nostri.

Genesis: nativitas.

Genitura: natura vel nativitas.

H

Horoscopus: horarum inspector.

Hippotoxoti (-ae) funditores sunt qui nervum arcus ita conponunt ut sit in medio fundae similis; huc inmissi glandes, id est massulae rotundae ex argilla vel plumbo. Summa vi att<r>actus postquam nervus remissus est in modum sagittarum fundit longissime glandes.

F 2. Transposed in *R.* after corrupte in G 1. 3. Medicamenta quae proponiuntur ad vendendum *R.* 4. *om. R.* G 1. SS profertur *V.* quid animo ceptum *V.* istius *V.* 2. Geseripon *V.* 3. Gimnus *R.* gimnophiste *R.* corporis eorum *V.* 4. greco vocabulo dicitur *R.* 5. Grappha *V.* 6. Kyrrii sot*ηr* *R.* ymon *om. R.* nostri *om. R.* After 7 there follows T 9 (Taxis ordo, etc.) in *R.* only. 8. *om. R.* H 2. Hyppo- *R.* glandes ex arg. vel plum. id est mass. rot. *R.*

Hymnus: laus Dei, inde hymnologus laudis Dei narrator sive de laudibus Dei sermonem faciens.

Homelia: popularis sermo.

Hypocrita: subauratus, id est simulator; nam hyp[p]o sub, crisis aurum dicitur.

Hialin (ὕαλον): vitrum.

Poron Graece lucrum dicitur, hinc emporium locus mercationis sive lucri; sunt et pori quaedam minutissima foramina in corpore per quae sudor vel pili emergunt.

Calliope[a] quasi Calliphone, id est bona vox; signatius tamen derivatur a verbo calli[o]poio Graece composito, quod est bene facio vel compono.

I

<H>ierarchia: sacer principatus. <H>ieron siquidem dicunt Graeci sacrum, archon vero dicitur princeps, inde conponitur <h>ierarchia et scribitur non per G sed per I.

Inoforum (Οἰνόφορος): vas vinarium, quia Graeci ynon vinum dicunt.

I[a]ctis (ἰχθύς) Graece dicitur piscis; ictiophagi (ichthy-) dicuntur piscium comessores.

<H>ierophantes dicuntur sacerdotes sacra praecepta fantes, id est loquentes, quia <h>ieron sacrum vel divinum sonat, fari vero est loqui. Quo nomine censentur etiam divini sive divinatores qui de rebus divinis fantur.

K

Kategoro: praedico, unde categoriae praedicamenta dicuntur.

Kalendae: vocationes, et veniunt ab eo quod est kalo id est voco.

Kataroae (!): mundi; idem dicuntur et cat<h>ari iusti et mundi.

Karkesia (-che-) sunt vasa pontificum circa mediam partem coangustata dependentibus ansis a summo usque ad infimam partem.

Kere (χαῖρε) autem salve, unde est illud 'Kere Caesar anikos,' id est 'ave' sive 'salve Caesar invictissime' (cf. Fulg. *Sup. Thebaid.* 183, 11).

L

Laos: populus, inde laicus homo, id est popularis dicitur.

Licos (Ly-): lupus.

3. laudes *R.* ymnologus *V.* 5. Hippocrita . . . ippo *R.* 7 and 8 *om. V.* (but cf. Misc. 10 below); both are misplaced or rather were overlooked when the 'Notes' were put into alphabetical order. I 1. archos *R.* (cf. A9 not. crit.). 2. vinum *om. R.* 3. Yctis *V.* hictio- *R.* 4. Ierofantes *R.* divini *om. V.* divinis rebus *R.* K 1. Katagoro *V.* 3. Karoe *V.* katara *V.* 4. vasa sunt *R.* 5. *om. V.* (but cf. Misc. 2). L1. id est *om. R.* 2. *om. R.* inde lag. *V.*

Lagos: lepus, unde et lageum vinum purissimum ac tenuissimum citoque per membra discurrens sicut lepus velox habetur in currendo. Lagena quasi lagona, id est leporarium vas ex aliquo metallo fusile factum instar leporis.

Lotium est urina quae tantam dicitur habere virtutem ut si perfusus fuerit ex ea magus aut incantator non possit aliquid magicae artis exercere.

Laser: flos.

M

Moechus est adulter alterius t[h]orum furtim polluens. Inde a m<o>echo dicitur mechanica ars, ingeniosa atque subtilissima et paene quomodo facta vel administrata sit invisibilis in tantum, ut etiam visum conspicientium quodam modo furetur, dum non facile penetratur eius ingeniositas; quali ingenio artis candelabrum illud Theodosianum factum legitur.

Moros: fatuus, moriones fatui, inde sicomorus (sy-) ficus fatua.

Mathesis: stellarum inspectio; ars scilicet per quam geniturae hominum colliguntur, unde mathematica dicitur doctrinalis scientia.

Manthos (!): divinatio.

Metron: mensura.

Monadicon: singularis dictio.

Machia (!): pugna, unde dictus est Iudas Mac<c>[h]abaeus, id est pugnator, quia fortissimus proeliator extitit.

Mat<h>ites vel mat<h>ita discipulus; inde simmat<h>ites (sym-) condiscipulus.

Moratores: advocati.

Myriades: mille (!).

Marat<h>rum: feniculum.

Marsuppa: sacculus nummorum, quo nomine et apud Latinos marsuppium dicitur teste Plinio.

Map<p>e (-a): forma; hinc dicitur map<p>a mundi.

Mediastenus (-in-): incola mediae urbis.

Mac[h]arius dicitur beatus.

Mimesis: imitatio et imaginatio.

4. tanta *V.* aut incantator *om. V.* 5. *om. R.* M 1. a mecho *om. V.* moechanica *R.* Above the last three words in *R.* Theodosius imperator fuit in Constanti<n>opoli. These words are added by the second hand, not by the first as stated by me in *Cl. Quart.*, 16, p. 107. 3. Matesis *R.* 10. Miriades *R.* 11. pheniculum *V.* 12. Marsuppia *V.* 13. *om. V.* (but cf. Misc. 7). 14. Mediastemus *V.* medio *R.*

Myrodemata (δός μοι ὑποδήματα?): calciamenta, unde est illud 'dos mi mirodemata' (hypo-) id est 'da mihi calciamenta.'

Metrifrasin (μετάφρασις -εων): translationum.

N

Neo<n>: novum.

Neotericus: novellus.

Neophitus (-phy-): noviter ad fidem veniens.

Nomos: lex, unde anomia dicitur quasi sine lege, quam nos iniquitatem dicimus. Quo nomine sacra Scriptura nominare quicquid contra legem vel fidem fit.

O

<H>olon: totum.

<H>olovitreum: totum vitreum.

<H>odon (-s): via.

Odissia (-dy-): liber Homeri ubi continentur gesta Odissei (-dy-), id est Ulixis qui Graece Odisseus (-dy-) dicitur.

P

Pessimare, ut mihi videtur, est peiorem facere.

Paroec[h]ia interpretatur adiacens domus. Par<a> siquidem dicunt Graeci adiacens, oec[h]os domus, quod nomen quidam Latinorum non recte pronuntiant dividentes OE dip<h>t<h>ongon et addentes unum R superflue; sicut enim proelium per OE quidem scribitur sed per E solum pronuntiatur, similiter et par<o>ec[h]ia per E et per unum R pronuntiatur. Nam sicut paterfamilias illorum quae (-i) domui suae adiacent curam habet, ita episcopus curam debet habere omnium ecclesiarum quae ad matrem ecclesiam pertinent suae civitatis.

Palinodia[n]: laus iterata.

Pegma: massa ferri.

Phiala eo quod fiat ex <h>ialin, hoc est vitro. Hialin (Hy-)enim dicunt Graeci vitrum.

Propoma: potio clara in linteo (?)

Parentalia sunt munuscula quae pro remedio parentum deo in sacrificium offeruntur.

17. *om. V.* (but cf. Misc. 1). 18. *om. V.* N 2. Neothericus *R.* 3. Neofitus *R.* 4. dicitur *om. V.* sacra *om. V.* vel fidem *om. R.* P 1. *om. V.* 2. Parroechia *R.* echos *R.* dyptongon *V.* et *om. V.* parroechia *R.* —familia *V.* que *V.* ecclesiae *V.* 5. ex fialin et vitro *V.* (There is an h over et as though the scribe had started to make a correction.) hialin *to* vitrum *om. V.* 7. sacrificio *R.*

Privilegium : meritum speciale vel dignitas singularis, id est privata lex.

Phagos : cibus, unde est illud ' φάγος ἡμερινὸς ἄρτος κει (-αὶ) τυρὸς κεὶ <ο>ἶνον (-ς) ' hoc est dicere ' cibus cotidianus panis et caseum et vinum.'

Peripetasmata sunt vela navis dicta a circumducendo vel eo quod per funes circumducantur per ambitum domus ; peri enim dicitur circum, petasma velum.

Pala<io>s : vetus, unde est illud ' πάλ<αι>ος μῶρος νέον φρόνιμον οὐ π<ο>ιῶν (-εῖ),' id est ' vetus stultus novum sapientem non facit.'

Pro<g>nosticon : signum futurarum rerum quibusdam indiciis manifestatum.

Platon (-yn) : latum, unde platea a latitudine est dicta et Plato a latitudine humerorum.

Perifrasticus (-ph-) : circumlocutivus, unde adverbialiter dicimus perifrasticos (-ph-), id est circumlocutive.

Podas : pedes, inde poderis vestis talaris usque ad pedes pertingens.

Penta : quinque, teuchos liber vel volumen ; inde pentateuchum series quinque librorum sicut <h>eptaticum (-teuchum) septem librorum, nam <h>epta septem.

Philacterium (Phy-) : servatorium legis. Est autem conpositum ex duobus corruptis et ex duabus linguis ; philaxe (φυλάξαι) siquidem Graece dicitur servatorium sive servare, thorath <H>ebraico vocabulo dicitur lex.

Pseudomeni[e] : falsae conclusiones.

Parergiota (?) : inefficax.

Pseudot<h>yrum : [h]ostium remotum a publico.

Popinae dicuntur a pellendo famem, a qua et originem ducit hoc nomen. Erant enim loca iuxta balnea ubi post lavationem reficiebantur (cf. Isid., *Et.*, 15, 2, 42).

Pathos : affectus vel dolor sive passio.

Panathenaicus liber dici potest totus in mortis contemptum (?).

9. phag. emerinos artos key tyros keinon *R.* ; for the Greek spelling of *V.* cf. Introduction above. causeum *R.* 10. Peripatasmata *V.* Peripetasmata smata sunt *R.* navis *om. R.* vel *om. R.* etenim *R.* patasma *V.* 11. Palos *V.* palos moros neon fronimon upion *R.* *vv V.* (for the spelling otherwise cf. P 9). 12. manifestum *V.* 13. altitudine *bis R.* platea a latitudine humerorum dictae *V.* *cetera om. V.* 14. Perifrasticos id est circumlocutive *V.* *cetera om. V.* 15. pertinens *R.* 16. theuchos *V.* vel volumen *om. V.* -theuchum *V.* 17. dicunt greci serv. *V.* thorat *V.* 18. Pseudo inoeniae *V.* 19. Parergio *V.* 20. Pseudotirum *V.* 21. appellendo *R.* balneis *V.* 22. vel dolor *om. R.* 23. motis *R.*

Pentaphil<l>on (-phy-): herba quae a numero foliorum vocabulum sumpsit, unde et Latine quinquefolia dicitur.

Parthene (-os) dicitur virgo, parthenias verecundus moribusque ornatus et omni vita probatus, tractum ab eo quod est partheni, scilicet quod more virginis, quae parthene (-os) dicitur, verecundus existat.

Purpura quasi porphira (-phy-) dicta ab altitudine coloris sui, quia quo altius elevata fuerit, eo amplius nativum colorem exprimit, si vera fuerit.

Porphireticus (-phy-) lapis est purpurei coloris et a quibusdam legitur per O in prima et per E in antepenultima porphireticus (-phy-), quod verius a quibusdam purpuriticus sed corrupte.

Peribolum, ut ipso nomine sonat, est porticus circuitu suo totam domum ambiens; περὶ enim Græca præpositio Latine sonat circum.

Polimina: ornamenta a poliendo dicta.

Papa: pater patrum, id est aliorum episcoporum atque pontificum magister.

Pabo: genus vehiculi cum una rota, quod nomen multi corrupte pavonem legunt sub eo nomine scilicet quo et avis censetur; nam illud habet V, istud B pabo.

Præst[r]igia: circumvenientia vel mendacia.

Parasiti dicuntur qui questum gulae laudibus et favoribus meditantur; parasitaster diminutivum nomen est a parasito.

Piratæ sunt praedones maritimi ab incendio navium dicti. Pyr dicitur ignis; idem et Cilices apud Iuvenalem et Persium appellantur. Iuvenalis in tertio (8, 94) 'Pyratae (Pi-) Cilicum; sed quid dam[p]natio confert?'

Policrates (-ly-): multorum custos, quia poli (-y) pluralitatem designat, crates custodem sonat.

Philippei id est nummi aurei.

Puteal: sedes prætoris.

Parapsis (-ops-): vas quadrilaterum dictum a paribus absidibus et est aptum calidis frigidisque cibis.

Pragma (Isid. *Et.* 5, 22).

24. dicitur quinquefolia *V*. 25. Partheni *V*. verec. exist. quæ parth. dic. *R*. parteni *V*. 26. quia quanto *V*. 27. a *om. V*. ante pene ultima *R*. pophireticus *R*. porphiriticus sed corr. *V*. 28. porticus circuitus vocatum domum *R*. περι *to* circum *om. V*. 29. ornamenta *om. V*. 30. mag. alior. episc. atq. pont. *R*. 31. scilicet nomi quo *V*. habet *om. R*. pabo *om. V*. 32. *om. V*. 33. nomen *om. R*. ap parasito *R*. 34. Pir *R*. apud Persium vocantur Iuvenalis in tertio *V*. 35. pluritatem *R*. 36. id est *om. V*. 38. Parabsis *R*. absidis *V*. 39. Pracma *V*.

Pagos dicitur villa apo toy neito (?), id est a fontibus circa quos villae consueverant condi; unde et pagani dicti sunt quasi villani, longe a civitate Dei remoti ex uno fonte erroris potantes.

Porisma (-os): adquisitio vel questus.

Pathos: passio vel dolor. (Cf. 22.)

Pathetica: oratio dolore plena.

Peripsema peripsematis per E longum dicitur proprie purgatio pomi; attamen ponitur et pro vili re. [Nomen Iovis aput Græcos quod est ZUPIC CXCC septingentis decem et VII numerum exprimit, nomen Saturni quod est ΣM EUTCCC numerum anni significat. (?)]

R

R<h>euma est effusio maris videlicet quando maris accessio foras egreditur et in lacunis vel in fossis colligitur; remanens aqua veluti in stagnis illud dicitur r<h>euma.

S

Simnistes (*συμμύστης*) id est conscius secretorem, amicus videlicet consecretalis, cui omnia secreta fiducialiter panduntur. Nam neme (*μνήμη*?) dicitur mens, inde simnistes (!)

Sinposion (Sym-): convivium; inde dicitur simpolator conviva. Ubicumque enim apud nos ponitur con praepositio, sicut condiscipulus, conviva, apud Graecos ponitur sin (syn) eundem sensum obtinens.

Stroma: varietas; inde stromatum liber ex variis rebus aut diversis auctoribus compositum (-us).

Stropha: inpostura, tergiversatio dicitur.

Strophium: cingulum dictum a conversione quia a renibus et posteriore parte convertitur et reducitur in anteriorem. Strophe etenim dicitur conversio, unde et Strophades insulae dicuntur a conversione navium. Dum enim inpinguntur naves ea allisione retro vertuntur sicque submerguntur.

Sicophanta (Sy-): calumniator.

Sc<h>olica dicuntur causae summatim excerptae et propriae.

40. *απωθωυνηυθω V.* a paganis *V.* villa in longe *R.* 41. vel *om. R.* 42. *om. V.* 43. Patheaca *R.* 44. *om. V.* (but cf. below Misc. 3 which is identical except for huius before peripsematis). Nomen *to* significat *om. V.* Above ZUPIC VIICCCC, above the second group LX alpha in *R.* R 1. accesio *V.* nel fossis *R.* S 1. id est *om. V.* 2. sinpolata *R.* ponitur apud nos *V.* Sicut est cond. *R.* retinens *V.* 4. in positura *V.* dicitur *om. V.* 5. a *om. R.* posteriorem partem *V.* strophae *V.* merguntur *R.* 6. Sicofanta *R.* 7. et propriae *om. V.*

Semnologia : insignes sermones.

Sinastria (Sy-) : constellatio.

Smicmata (*σμήγματα* ?) : conmixturae.

Sinodus (Sy-) : proprie collectio sive collecta multitudo ex diversis viis coadunata. Nam <h>odon Graeci dicunt viam.

Solicofanis (*σολοικοφανής*) : inanis dictio ; inde dicimus solicofanice locutum aliquem, id est inaniter.

Sandapila : feretrum.

Sint<h>eca (Sy-) : compositio.

Senoma : cadaver (?)

Scea (*σκιὰ*) id est umbra ; inde scena umbratio sive umbraculum.

Sc<h>edae dicuntur quae necdum redactae sunt in libris sed habentur et emendantur in c<h>artis. (Cf. Isid. *Et.* 6, 14, 8.)

Sarminium : cerfolium (= Herm. ?)

Sybilla dicitur quasi syos (si-) bule, id est dei consilium vel dei os ; nam sios Aeolice dicitur deus, bule consilium. (Cf. Isid. *Et.* 8, 8, 1.)

Stranguria vel strangyria : difficultas urinae.

Senoca (*συνέχεια* ?) : continuatio ; inde senoca (*συνεχὴς* or *-οχος* ?) infirmitas cotidiana, quam corrupte vulgo senecam vocant.

Skybala[e] : bac<c>ae stercoris humani. (Cf. *Sirach*, 27, 4.)

Syllogismus : consermocinatio vel conclusiva ratio : dicitur etiam absolute arta conclusio.

Siler : parva arbor et infructuosa.

Sindeton (Sy-) id est coniunctio, unde quodam loco dicitur quod sindetos (sy-) fuerit Saturnus cum Marte id est coniunctus in commissura circulorum.

T

T<h>reni sunt lamentationes.

Ton meson : medius sonus sive medium verbum, quod dupliciter potest intellegi sicut saevus magnus et saevus crudelis, ut ' saeva Iuno,' Virgilius (*Aen.* 7, 287 ?) pro ' magna.'

Tesseres (-ar-) : quattuor, unde est illud ' tre<i>s, tesseres (-ar-) *κε*(*καὶ*) decades,' id est ter XIIII generationes.

Theologus : divinus sermocinator.

8. Simnologia *V.* 11. odon grece latine dicitur via *V.* 12. Silicophanis, -ice *V.* locutum id est inaniter aliquem *R.* 13. Sindapila *V.* 16. id est *om. V.* 19. Sibilla dicta *R.* quasi os bulae *V.* Samsios eolice *V.* 20. vel strangyria *om. V.* 21. inde seca *V.* vulgo *om. V.* 22. Scribala *R.* 23. Sillog. *R.* 24. *om. R.* 25. *om. V.* but cf. Misc. 4 where id est *om. V.* iovis cum marte *V.* T 1. Trheni *R.* 2. ut *to* magna *om. V.* 3. Thesseres *V.* tesseres IIII decades *R.* 4. Teologus *V.*

5 Tysanae (Ti-) ex <h>ordeo fiunt genus placentae, aegrotis solidum cibum capere non valentibus valde salubres et scribitur sine P, vide Horatium (*Sat.* 2, 3, 155).

Tropaeum scribendum est per P sine aspiratione ab eo quod est τροπή, quod fugam hostium sonat; nam τροφή cum aspiratione nutricem sonat, unde trophimus dicitur nutritor. Quandocumque enim dux seu princeps fugabat hostem a propriis finibus, non tamen comprehendebat gloriam et pompam quam exinde captabat, appellabatur tropaeum a fuga hostis; triumphus vero captabatur de comprehenso hoste.

Theos dicitur deus a Graeca et[h]imologia (-ty-), eo quod omnia videat; unde et theoria dicitur vita contemplativa. Hebraice autem Eloim(-e), Latine dicitur timor eo quod timendus sit ab omnibus, unde quidam primus in orbe deos fecit esse timor. (Cf. Isid. *Et.* 7, 1, 3.)

Toparcha: princeps unius loci.

Taxis ordo est singularis generis feminini, tagma neutri<us>; sintaxis (sy-) ergo et sintagma (sy-) constructio interpretatur et unum idemque significat.

V

Vallematia (Bal-) sunt inhonestae cantiones et carmina iocaque turpia.

X

Xenodochium locus ubi colliguntur pauperes ibique pascuntur (cf. Isid. *Et.* 15, 3, 13).

Xerophagi[i] dicuntur qui sicco cibo utuntur quia siccum xero<n> dicitur.

Y

Ypodromus (Hipp-): cursus unius equi; unde quod legimus quodam loco (LXX *Genesis*, 35, 19; cf. 48, 7) de Rachel, quia sepulta est in <h>ippodromo a<d> Bethleem; intellegendum est in spatio cursus equi. Potest etiam ypodromus (hipp-) intellegi locus extra theatrum, in quo servabantur equi quibus exercebantur ad certamen cursorium. Yppos (Hipp-) enim dicitur equus, dromos cursus.

5. Typsane *R.* vide Horatium *om. V.* 6. τροπη corrected to -φη *R.* tropheum *V.* gloria et pompa *R.* 7. hebraice autem deus latine *R.* unde *to* timor *om. V.* eo quod *to* timor in margin of *R.* 8. *om. V.* (but cf. Misc. 5). 9. *om. V.* (cf. G7 not. crit. above). V 1. et ioca turpia *V.* X 1. xerofagi *R.* xepo *R.* Y 1. in ypodromo *V.* intellegi yppodromus *R.* equi exercitandi ad cert. *V.* consorium *R.* δρομ̄ *R.*

Yppocrates (Hipp-): equorum custos, quia yppos (hipp-) equus, crates custos (cf. P35).

Ysocrates (Is-): equitatem possidens.

<H>ymen: locus intra viscera puerperii, id est locus conceptionum quem vulgo dicunt matricem. Est autem <H>ymenaeus actus voluptatis, inde deus voluptatis dicitur, quod est Venus.

<H>ypot<h>eseon id est informationum vel institutionum.

Ypopostomos (?) id est equis (-us?) (see note).

<H>yle[n] dicitur confusa materies unde cun<c>ta procedunt, inde dicitur ylementum (el-), (cf. E 27).

Z

Zetae hiemales sunt domus hiemales quae calidae efficiuntur subductis flammis; quod vero est melius zetae hiemales sunt britischae austro appositae. Zetae aestivales sunt britischae aquiloni appositae, dictae a similitudine zetae litterae.

Zelus: amor Dei; ponitur et pro invidia.

Zelotipium (-typ-): odium malum de mala suspicione veniens.

2. quia *to* custos *om. V.* 4. *om. V.* 5. id est *om. V.* 6. *om. V.* 7. *om. R.* Z 1-3. *om. R.*

Item Alio Modo.

A

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Aser	μακάριος	beatus
Adama	γῆ	terra
Aram	ὑψηλὸς	excelsus
Arbe	τέσσερα (-αρα)	quattuor
Afer	ωχνους (κόνις?)	pulvis
Asenoth	κατάπτωμα	ruina
Ach	ἀδελφὸς	frater
Ad	μαρτύριον	testimonium
Abba	πατὴρ	pater
Aoth	<δε>δοξα-<σ>μένος	gloriosus
Asir	πεπεδημένος	vinctus
Anan	νεφελὴ	nubes

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Amath	ἀλήθεια	veritas
Agac	δῶμα	tectum
Ar	λέων	leo
Achin	πηγὴ	fons
Atharoht	στέφανος	corona
As	βηλα (βέλη, -ος)	sagitta
Amas	ωμυθως (ὁ θυμὸς)	furor
Ain	ὀφθαλμὸς	oculus
Athar	δ<έ>ησις	deprecatio
Afelethi	θαυμαστὸς	mirabilis
Adom	κύριος	dominus
Aendor	ὀφθαλμὸς	oculus
Asama	ἁμαρτία	delictum
Avil	ἄνο<υ>ς	stultus
Ava	ἀδικία	iniquitas

These headings are written on the same line as 1 in *V.* (i.e. <He>braeum Aser, Graecum, etc.) 9. *παθυρ.* 14. Agat corrected to Agac. 17. *σγηφανων.* 26. *ανως.*

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Aran	ὀργὴ	ira
Achal	πάντα	omnia
Agar	πάροικος	advena
Amona	πίστις	fides

B

Barach	εὐλογητὸς	benedictus
Bosor	θλίψις	tribulatio
Barath	χάλαζα	grando
Batu	παρθένο<ς>	virgo
Bera	φηαρθως (φρέατος)	puteus
Ben sive bar	υἱὸς	filius
Bachor	πρωτοτόκος	primogenitus
Beth	οἶκος	domus
Bamoth	ὑψηλὸς	excelsus
Bethen	γαστὴρ	venter
Beroth	φηαρθως (φρέατος)	pu<t>eus
Basec	ἀστραπὰ (-ὴ)	fulgor

C

Carnaim	κέρατα	cornua
Camu	ἀνάστασις	resurrectio
Cedar	σκότοι	tenebrae
Charin	ἄμπελος	vinea
Caath	ὑπομονὴ	patientia
Cariath	πόλις	civitas
Casim	ἀρκὴ (-χὴ)	principium
Chidon	ὅπλος	scutum
Caph	χεὶρ	manus
Calanne	πάντες	omnes
Clemens	ἐκκλησιαστὴς	concionator
Crescens	σκοτεινὸς	tenebrosus

D

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Dan	κρῖμα	iudicium
Dor	γενεὰ	generatio
Dabrath	λά<λη>μα	loquella
Duma	χαρὰ	gaudium
Daniaim	αἱμάτων	sanguinum

E

El	θεὸς	deus
Elam	αἰὼν	saeculum
Epha	μέτρον	mensura
Er	φυλακὴ	vigilia
Eva	ζωὴ	vita
Enoch	ἄνθρωπος	homo
Ebmoth	διέξοδος	transitus
Em	μήτηρ	mater
Ezer	βοηθὸς	adiutor
En	χάρις	gratia
Ey	πῦρ	ignis
Ele	μαρτύριον	testimonium
Elan	νεφέλη	nubes
Emeth	κοιλὰ[δυ]ς	vallis
Ebara	ἀστραπὰ (-ὴ)	fulgur
Esthaum	ἐνθύμ[η]ιον	cogitatio
Elech	μερὶς	portio
Een	πηγὴ	fons
Ep	ζωὴ	vita
Esda	ἔλεος	misericordia
Enner	λύχνον	lucerna

F

Faz	χρυσὸς	aurum
Fallu	θαυμαστὸς	mirabilis
Fa	ἐρυθρὰ(-ὸν ?)	rubrum
Foda vel fida	λύτρωσις	redemptio

B 1 is given twice over. 2. θλψηυς. 4. παρτηνὄ.
C 4. ανπηδως. 8. ωρλως. 12. σκωθθυνως. D 2. γηνεα; the only instance of the use of ε. D 5. ημαθων. E 2. ηων. 4. φρυαλκη. F 1. χρυσυς.

G

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Gez	<ἰσ>χὺς	fortitudo
Gailath	βουνοὶ	colles
Gaza vel gaver	<ἰσ>χυρ[ρ]ὸς	fortis
Gaa	ἀγαλλίαμα	exultatio
Goom	βόθρος	fovea
Goz	νὺξ	nox
Gam-uel	ἀν[α]ταπόδοσις	retributio
Gogh	δῶμα	tectum

I

Iamin	δεξιά	dextera
Iericho	σελήνη	luna
Ia	κύρ[ρ]ιος	dominus
Iesus	σωτὴρ	salvator
Iamma	θάλασσα	mare
Ianua(-oe?)	ἀναπαλυς (ἀνάπαυλα or -παυσις?)	requies
Is	ἀνὴρ	vir
Ioab	ἐχθρὸς	inimicus
Ierame	ἔλεος	misericors(-dia)
Iasan	ἄνεμος	ventus
Io	ἐκεῖ	ibi
Iuchal	δυν<ατ>ός	potens
Iachim	ἀνάστασις	resurrectio

L

Lud	εὔχρηστος	utilis
Labna		candor
Lais	λέων	leo

M

Malchus	βασιλ[λ]εὺς	rex
Mo	ἐκ	de
Man	τίς	quis
Macheloth	ἐκκλησία	conventus
Manaim	παρεμβολὴ	castra
Malcha	βασίλισσα	regina
Magdal	πύ<ρ>γος	turris
Mello	πληνὴς (-ρὴς)	pleuus
Magmas	ταπείνω- h<u>militas σις	
Maana	ἀνάπλυσις (-παυ-)	requies
Mochot	πληγαὶ	plagae
Maroth	σπήλαιον	spelunca
Morathi	κληρήνομος (-ρο-)	heres

N

Nafes	ψυκὴ (-χὴ)	anima
Nemane	πιστὸς	fidelis
Nechelet	αἴνεσις	laus
Ner	λύχνον	lucerna
Neele	χ<ε>ιμάρ- <ρο>υς	torreus
Naum	παράκλητος	consolator

O

Omap	λαὸς	populus
Or	φῶρ(-ς)	lux
Om	πόνος	dolor
Oth	θάνατος	mor[tali]s
Osa	ἐλπὶς	spes
Oorem	ὀργὴ	ira
Oz	<ἰ>σχὺς	fortitudo
Omre	λόγος	verbum
Ola	σκήμωνα (-νωμα)	tabernaculum
Oor	ἄλ<γ>ημα	dolor
Orech		longitudo
Oefa		aestus
Ofir	ἀσθέν<ε>ια	infirmita<s>

G 8. δυμα. I 11. ηκυ. M 9. θαπυνωσυς. 12. σπηληων. N 3. ηνησυς. 5. χυμαρυς.

R

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Ran	ὀργὴ	ira
Ram	ὕψιστος	excelsus
Rabath	πλῆθος	multitudo
Ragal	πο<ὺ>ς	pes
Ralisin	πόδες	pedes
Rason	διέχοδος (-εξ-)	cursus
Roboth		plateae
Ru	ἰδὼν	videns
Ragu	ποιμὴν	pastor
Ros	κεφαλὴ	capud(-t)
Rob	διδάσκαλος	magister
Rasta		sanitas

S

Sa	θυσία	sacrificium
Samis	ἥλιος	sol
Sar	ἰσχυρὸς	fortis
Sephera	βίβλος	liber
Sara	ἄρκων (-χ-)	princeps
Salem	εἰρήνη	pax
Sava	κραυγὴ	clamor
Son	κόρη	pupilla
Sor	μεσημβρινὸς	meridianus
Soeth	σκηνώ-	tabernaculum(-a)
	ματα	
Soar	μ[η]ικρὸς	pusillus
Surt vel gader	περίβολος	murus
Sem	ὄνομα	nomen
Sophar	σάλπιχ (-ιγξ)	tuba
Semer	φυλακὴ	custodia
Semes	ἥλιος	sol
Sur	εὐθὸς (-ὺς)	rectus

<He>braeum	Graecum	Latinum
Sademoth	χώραι	regiones
Sade	ἀληθ<ε>ια	iustitia (!)
Siloa vel siluan	ἀπόστολος	missus
Senam	πλῆθος	abundantia
Sabath	πάβδος (ῥά-)	virga
Sefela	ταπεινὸς	humilis
Semoth	ὀνόματα	nomina
Sapharim	βίβλοι	libri
Sina	μέτρον	mensura
Semai	τυφλὸς	caecus

T

Talam	ἀρόσος (δρ-)	ros
Tob	ἀγαθὸς	bonus
Thamna	ἀριθμὸς	numerus
Thecum	ὑπολονὴ (-μονὴ)	patientia
Thobel	ματαιότης	vanitas
Tur	ἀνάγ<κη>	augustia
Thecuae	σάλπιχ (-ιγξ)	tuba

U

Ur	πῦρ	ignis

Z

Zaon	χρυσίον	aurum
Zambri	ᾄσμα	canticum
Zaba	ἀδικία	iniquitas
Zare	ἀνατολὴ	oriens
Zo	αὐτὸς	ipse
Zacheus	δίκαιος	iustus
Zachar		memor
Zib	λύκος	lupus

S 3. υσκυρως. 7. The scribe has put a stroke through the υ instead of a dot above, i.e. κραψγη. 12. πηρυβωλος; this and 20 below are the only instances of the use of ο. 14. σαλπυχ. 20. ἀπωσθωλος; for ο cf. not. crit. on S 12. 23. θαπυνως. T 5. μαθαιωτης; the only instance of ι. 7. σαλπυχ; cf. S 14.

Miscellaneous notes (only in *V.*).

Myrodemata : calciamenta, unde ' dos mirodemata,' id est ' da mi[c]hi calciamenta ' (= M 17).

Kere : ave vel salve, unde est hoc ' Kere Cæsar anicos,' ' ave vel salve Cæsar invictissime ' (= K 5).

Peripsema (= P 44) 4. Sindeto[so]n (= S 25).

T[h]oparc<h>a (= T 8) 6. <H>ypot<h>eseon (= Y 5).

Mape : forma, abhinc mapa mundi (= M 13) 8. <H>yle[n] (= Y 7).

Perioch[i]a est circumstantia quae significat personam, locum, tempus, rem, qualitatem, causam et facultatem.

Callion phone : bona vox. (Cf. H 8).

Nictare est vigilare et innuere.

Creperum : dubium, inde crepusculum dubia lux.

Præclue<n>s : valde nobiles (-is).

Arsis : elevatio. 15. Thesis : positio.

Ox<e>ia : acuta. 17. Peristomene (-sp-) : circumflexus.

C<h>ronos : tempus vel longitudo.

Tonus : accentus.

Chris[es]ma : crassitudo.

Dapsid (*δασὺ*) : <h>ispidum vel asperum.

Psile : lene (-ve) vel purum.

Apostrofos (-ph-) : regressio.

Diastole : separatio, <h>ypodiastole subseparatio.

Digammos : duplex littera.

Monoptota : eiusdem casus, aptota in quibus nulla est inflexio casuum, diptota duorum cas[s]uum, triptota trium casuum, tetraptota quattuor casuum, pentaptota quinque casuum, <h>exaptota sex casuum.

Anomal[i]a nomina sunt inaequalia.

<K>tetica : possessiva. 29. Epit<h>eta : adiectiva.

Mac[h]ron : longum. 31. Brachin (-ys) : brevis.

Monochronon : unius temporis, dichronon communis temporis.

Prosodia : accentus vel sonus.

Poema : opus unius libri metrici, poesis opus multorum librorum.

Themisto : rationabilitas. 36. Calipso (-ly-) : sensibilitas.

Agamemnon : fortis (= A 88).

Ydilion (Idyll-) : paucorum versuum.

Distic<h>on : duorum versuum, monostic<h>on unius versus.

Epodon : clausula in poemate.

Epigramma : titulus.

Pr<o>oemium : dicendi initium.

Problema : quaestio.

Tragoedia : luctuosum carmen.

Profora (-ph-) : interrogatio, antiphora responsio.

Periodus : tota sententia.

Dicolon dimembris, tricolon trimembris, tetracolon quadrimembris.

Pirrichius (Py-) dictus a pueris quasi puerichius, eo quod in suis locis hoc pede uterentur ; vel ab igne qui Graece dicitur pyr sive pyros.

Trochaeus : rotatilis.

Celeuma : Carmen navale vel vineale sive arvale.

Celox : navis.

Metron : mensura (= M 5.)

R<h>ithmos (Rhy-) : numerus.

Monometron : versus unius pedis, dimetron duorum pedum.

Pent<h>imemerim (-emi-) : post tres pedes remanens, tetratrochaeos post quattuor pedes remanens, texobucolicos (?) post quinque pedes remanens.

Catalecticus : ubi in pede versus una sillaba (sy-) deest ; brac<h>i[a]-catalectos ubi duae minus sunt, acatalectos ubi versus legitimo fine clauditur, <h>ypercatalectos ubi super legitimos pedes crescit sillaba (sy-).

T[h]elia (τελεία) : distinctio, <h>ypostigma (-e) subdistinctio, mesi (-e) media distinctio.

Colon : membrum, com<m>a incisio, periodos clausula sive circuitus ; nam cola(-on) est totus versus, com<m>ata sunt ipsae incisiones pedum. (Cf. C. 22-3.)

Sim<m>achus (Sy-) : compugnans sive adiutor.

Arxon (-ch-) : principium, arxa<n>gelon (-ch-) ta (te) archangelorum-que, xoron (ch-) chororum, a<n>gelon te angelorumque, telaigon (-aug-) longe fulgentium.

Eglogae (Ec-) : excerpta testimonia.

Stromatum (-a) : liber varie contextus. (Cf. S3.)

Uligo : humor terrae vel <h>erba marina.

Mutilatus : inmaculatus (?)

Vafer : callidus.

Bahal : numero singulari, bahalim plurali ; eadem idola nominantur genere masculino. Ubicunque enim in fine Hebraei sermonis im sillabam (sy-) legimus, numerus pluralis est generis masculini : ubi autem hot numero plurali generis feminini. Ergo Seraphim et Cherubim plurali intellegimus numero generis masculini ; Sabahot autem, quod interpretatur militiarum vel exercituum sive virtutum, numero plurali generis feminini.

NOTES.

A1-2. The confusion between *ἀπόκρυφος*, *χρυσὸς* and *ἀπόκρισις* is no doubt due partly to oral teaching, as already indicated, partly to the interpretation of apocrisiarius as minister secretorum. The confusion occurs again in C 6 and H 5.

2. For Gregory I. before he became Pope, cf. Paul. Diac., *Vita. Greg.*, 7 (= Migne, *P.L.*, 75, p. 44 C) 'nec multum post pro responsis ecclesiasticis ad urbem Constantinopolim apocrisiarium direxit' (sc. Pelagius, II., as appears from Joan. Diac., *Vita Greg.*, 26). The post seems to have been similar to that of a papal nuncio to the Byzantine court.

7. Aello explained by Fulgentius is a Harpy; cf. Ovid, *Met.*, 13, 710.

8. For this meaning of anagoge, cf. Euch., *In.*, 2, 161, 9.

9. A late glossary (*C.G.L.*, V., 267, 25) more correctly explains archimandrita as princeps ovilium. The interpretation in the present passage makes it clear that here ovium is the correct reading.

10. The interpretation fits neither *ἀφόρως* nor *ἀπόρως*. Bilingual glossaries have incautus: *ἀφύλακτος*, and it looks as if here there were a confusion with the next item.

12. The source of this gloss seems to be Isid., *Et.*, 20, 4, 8.

14. Cf. Thes. Gloss. s.v. for similar interpretations.

15. The reference is no doubt to Terence's play, but why gemini?

17. Cf. *Abstr.* A.: birrus villosus.

18. Neither the Greek Lexicon nor the Latin Thesaurus nor yet Thes. Gloss. give this word. As it is a medical item and close to a batch of others of this class (22-6) the source may be the Hermeneumata.

19. Was the lecturer's exposition *<ὕλη ἀειδὴς> ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους* informis materia, which the pupil garbled in his notes?

20. For the post-classical vernum = spring, cf. Dict. s.v.; id est sine laetitia is then a further explanation.

22-26. These five items all have a close parallel in the medical Hermeneumata glossary printed in *C.G.L.*, III., 597.

28. This also may be a Herm. item; the dictionaries and glossaries throw no light on it.

29. Cf. Thes. Gloss. s.v. The meaning of the interpretation is that it was the custom to lend a MS. from one library on the pledge of a MS. in another library.

32. Cf. Placid, 5, 7.

37. Cf. Isid., *Et.*, 8, 6, 11.

41. Cf. *Ab-Absens* gloss. Androgineca: hermafroditus, hoc est nec vir nec mulier.

49. Cf. the gloss given by Loewe, *Prodr.*, 160.

50. Cf. *Abstr.* Alogia: convivia.

53. So *Lib. Gloss.*

55. The last part of the interpretation Luci<li>us . . . molles is omitted in *V.*

68. Cf. Talio: *ἀντιπήρωσις*. Philox. In Gloss. Scalig. the lemma-word is even more corrupt, i.e. antipelargosin.

70. This appears to be an abbreviation of Isid., *Et.*, 16, 18, 6, bungled in the process!

71-3. It is noteworthy that in three consecutive items the 'vulgar' equivalent to a literary word is given and in each case this is of Teutonic origin.

71. Cf. Körting s.v. fano (O.H.G.). It is interesting to find anabol-adium, the form given in Isidore (*Et.*, 19, 25, 7) by all MSS. condemned as incorrect.

73. For this word cf. H. J. Thomson in *Cl. Rev.*, 34, 32. Thomson, however, only used *C.G.L.*, V., 583, 8 and *Thes. Lat.*, neither of which give the note in full. It will be seen that the explanation of the word is somewhat different from that preserved in the *Breviloquus* glossary. (Cf. Thomson, l.c.) Thomson also seems to suggest that the form hanappus does not actually occur, but it is to be found in the *Carmina Centulensia* (85, 10 = *Poet. Lat. Aevi Carol.*, III., 2). As the word cuppa explained below (C 3) occurs in the same passage, the relevant lines may here be quoted:—

Quando etiam Dani rapuerunt omnia nostra,
Tunc peregre cuppa ivit et ipsa mea.
Quocirca, tibi si potis est, sit mittere velle,
Hanappum pariter impositumque super.

76. Cf. *C.G.L.*, V., 657, 20 and *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.

80. The last words 'Saturnus apocatasticus est' also appear in the 'Glossae Collectae' in Vat. Lat. 1469 (in this case from a 'Passio' of St. Sebastian). Cf. Lindsay in *Cl. Quart.*, 15, p. 38-40, and below D 11 and S 25.

81. Cf. ἄρτος: panis. Cyrill.

85-6. The confusion between χόρος and χῶρος finds no support, e.g. in Isidore (*Et.*, 7, 13, 3).

B 2. *Gloss. Scalig.* gives a clue to the correct interpretation here, which should be 'Graeci ἄνδρα τῆς βασιλίδος vocant.

7. Cf. *Abol.* Capulum: ubi mortui efferuntur. Whence then comes the form Bacapulus? Perhaps in the source followed Capulus was immediately preceded by Baianula (B 15).

15. That Bardus is correct is proved by the numerous glossary parallels (cf. *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.). It is interesting to find that in Martian. Capella VI., p. 224, 3, the MSS. have bardi, which Eyssenhardt following an earlier conjecture emends to barbari.

20. Cf. Eucher. *In.*, 2, 143, 21.

21. Cf. βιωτικός: saecularis. Cyrill.

22. Cf. *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v., where the word is referred to *Maccab.*, 1, 13, 37. For other Bible references, more particularly to LXX, cf. S 22 and Y 1.

C 3. Copon like motron in 7 below appears to be a phantom-word, unless it is really κόλπος, which in the sense of 'gulf' might have been equated with profundum in a Greek-Latin manual.

12. This passage, A 80 and S 25 point to acquaintance with some work containing astrological lore. The definition of climacterica here has a close parallel in Ps.—Ambros., *Acta Sebast.*, 16, 55 (= Migne, *P.L.*, 17, p.

1045), 'nam futura dum penitus praevidere non possunt climactericas dicunt, id est naturae rei incerta profugia.' Cf. also *Cl. Quart.*, 15, p. 39, where we find a different interpretation.

13. Cf. *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.

14. Cf. *ibid.*, s.v.

17. Cf. Körting, s.v., Filt (Germ.) O. Fr. feltre. He also quotes the verb feltrare ('to strain through felt'). Both words here then mean pieces of material used for straining liquids.

18. Explorator: κατάσκοπος. Philox.

19. Diluvium: κατακλυσμός. *Ibid.*

28. Cf. Placid. 14, 9.

31. Cf. *Corpus Glossary* (ed. Lindsay), C 926 (an Orosius gloss).

35. Cf. Isid., *Et.*, 8, 7, 6. Here and again in S 7 note the use of causae (= Fr. 'choses').

36. Color: χρῶμα. Philox.

D 11. For the words Annus . . . est cf. *Cl. Quart.*, 15, p. 39.

12. Iovis: Διός. Philox.

E 8. Cf. *C.G.L.*, V., 657, 22.

13. For the beginning cf. Isid., *Et.*, 1, 44, 1.

23. EE glossary has E.: superaugmentum. Cf. *Thes. Gloss.*

24. Ducange (s.v. ephebia) interprets ephebian in *Maccab.*, 2, 4, 9 in the bad sense here given to the word; there seems to be no justification for this and all the passages which he quotes are late. Veneria is apparently used as a noun unless it is the scribe's mistake for Veneris.

F 2. Cf. *C.G.L.*, V., 658, 12.

4. Cf. Jerome's Preface to Ezekiel (= Migne, *P.L.*, 28, p. 940 A) for this word.

G 2. The Greek words may have been γῆς θεραπεία.

3. Cf. Isid., *Et.*, 8, 6, 17.

H. 7-8. The fact that these items are out of their proper order shows that these notes were arranged alphabetically by the student after they had been taken down from the teacher. (Cf. also the displacement of T 9 after G 7 above in *R.*)

8. Either Martian. Capella (*passim*) or Fulgentius (e.g. *Myth*, p. 27, 3) may be the ultimate source of this.

I 3. The explanation of Ichthyophagi too may be a note on Martian. Cap. (p. 242, 20).

L 1. Cf. Isid., *Et.*, 7, 14, 9.

2. Λυκὸς: lupus. Cyrill.

3. Contrast Isidore's interpretation of lageum (*Et.*, 17, 5, 16).

4. This sounds like a genuinely old superstition, but there appears to be no other reference to it.

M 1. Cf. *Cl. Quart.*, 16, 107.

2. Cf. Fatuus: μωρός. Philox. and Sicomorus: ficus fatuas. Abol.

5. Mensura: μέτρον. Philox.

8. Discipulus: μαθητής. Condiscipulus: συμμαθητής. Philox.

9. Cf. *C.G.L.*, V., 659, 19, and *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.

11. Feniculum: μάραθρον. Philox.

12. Goetz (*Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.) refers this to Pliny the medical writer without any apparent reason. Marsupium is used in ante-classical Latin and the present reference is probably to the lost work of the elder Pliny which is mentioned by his nephew. (Plin., *Epist.*, 3, 5, 1, 'dubii sermonis VIII,' i.e. libros), or is Plinio a scribe's error for Plauto? Cf. also Isid., *Et.*, 20, 9, 5.

15. μακάριος: beatus. Cyrill.

O 1. ὅλον: totum. Cyrill.

P 1. Acc. to Forcellini this word occurs only in the Vulgate.

2. For the interpretation of paroecia cf. Eucher., *In.*, 2, 160, 12.

4. Presumably this was originally a gloss on Juvenal, 4, 122.

P8. Cf. Isid., *Et.*, 5, 18.

16. Cf. *ibid.*, 6, 2, 1.

18. Cf. Plac., 38, 18, and *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.

20. Cf. Plac., 38, 20.

23. What is the source for this interpretation 'a book on immortality'?

24. Probably from Hermeneumata; cf. *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v. quinquefolia.

25. The writer presumably meant παρθένιος not -ας, which is the form given by both MSS. Or is it the explanation of a proper name Parthenias?

26. What is the meaning of altius elevata? Can the writer mean 'the more coats of paint are put on,' or is it a scribe's error for elavata 'the more it is washed'?

34. For the beginning of this item cf. Isid., *Et.*, 10, 220.

40. Was the Greek phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ? The corruption would then be partly due to omission of the second ποτ-.

44. Numerical computations of this kind based on the letters forming proper names are not uncommon, though it appears impossible to make sense of this one. For another example (in Laudun. 444) cf. Miller, op. cit., p. 209 (on the name Ἰησοῦς). The passage is clearly misplaced and should perhaps come after D 12.

S3-4. Cf. *C.G.L.*, V., 658, 8-9.

6. Cf. *ibid.*, 11.

10. σμῆγμα occurs in LXX, but the interpretation suggests a confusion either with σύμμικτα or συμμεμιγμένα.

13. Cf. *Thes. Gloss.*, s.v.

14. Philox. more correctly has compositio: σύνθεσις.

20-21. Both items are perhaps from Hermeneumata. The Dict. shows that both συνεχὴς and σύνοχος are used by medical writers of continuous, as distinct from intermittent fevers.

22. Probably an explanation of σκύβαλα in *Sirach*, 27, 4. 'ἐν σείσματι κοσκίνου διαμένει κοπρία, οὕτως σκύβαλα ἀνθρώπου ἐν λογισμῷ αὐτοῦ.'

25. Cf. *Cl. Quart.*, 15, p. 39.

T 2. The only passage in Vergil which suits is 'saeva Jovis coniunx' (*A.*, 7, 287).

5. Here, too, the reference is not quite clear, as Horace uses the diminutive ptisanarium.

7. Clearly a rather confused reproduction of Isid., *Et.*, 7, 1, 5. In the

present passage the equation δέος : deus is omitted though vital to the sense.

V 1. The word only occurs in Isid., *Et.*, 3, 22, 11.

Y 1. This passage is clear evidence for the use of LXX (and the Itala Bible?), for neither the Hebrew version nor the Vulgate has any equivalent to ἱππόδρομος which apparently means a 'bridle path' ('ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου Ἐφραθά' LXX—'in via quae ducit Ephratam,' Vulg.).

6. Should this be Hippopotamus : id est equus <fluvialis>, or is there a confusion with ὑποστόμιον (a martingale)?

Z 1. Cf. *Thes. Lat.* s.v. britischae.

Misc. 26. It is, perhaps, not uninteresting to compare with this item the lines of Smaragdus (7, 11-16 = *Poet. Lat. Aevi Carol.*, I, p. 611).

Multa monoptoton, diptoton plurima cedunt
Triptoton titulo nec minus apta manent.
Ista tetraptoton, numerus pentaticus illa
Nomina conciliat sextus et ipse sibi.
Casibus his constant cunctarum nomina rerum
Quae totius mundi machina cuncta tenet.

58. Cf. *C.G.L.*, V., 92, 4.

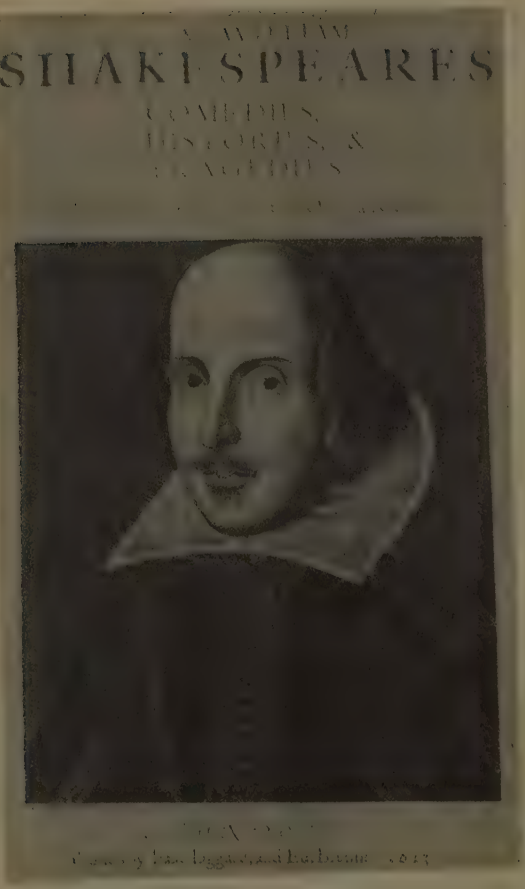
60. This is a word for word explanation of a line in one of John Scotus' poems (*Poet. Lat. Aevi Carol.*, 3, 2, p. 548, 21) which Traube prints *metri causa* in the eccentric spelling of the original :—

ἀρχων ἀρχαγελων τε χορων ἀγελων τε τελανγων. As the word symmachus occurs in l. 13 of the same poem, the preceding item (Misc. 59) probably comes from the same source.

ADDENDUM.

Since the above was written, the first, or introductory, volume to *C.G.L.* has been published by Goetz. In it (p. 148) he mentions a MS. of the 'Scholica' which is now at Paris (Bibl. Nat. Lat. 4883, saec. X-XI). Two other MSS. enumerated by him (*op. cit.*, pp. 294 and 302) contain at least a part of the 'Scholica,' namely, Ripoll 74 at Barcelona (saec. X), and Barlow 35 in the Bodleian at Oxford (saec. X-XI?). These MSS. are too late to be of value in face of the united testimony of *R.* and *V.*; their importance lies rather in the fact that they show the popularity to which Martin's lecture notes attained in the course of a century. Ripoll 74 is presumably a Spanish MS., while the provenance of Barlow 35 is doubtful, but may be from a German scriptorium. With regard to the Paris MS., it would seem from the portions quoted by Goetz that it is nearer to *V.* than to *R.*; the eccentric spelling of certain words in Greek characters is common to both. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. E. F. Jacob, of All Souls' College, for an account of Barlow 35.

M. L. W. L.


SHAKESPEARES

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE "FIRST-FOLIO" EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMAS (1623–1923).

BY THE EDITOR.

THE first successful attempt to give to the world a complete collected edition of Shakespeare's plays was made towards the end of 1623, seven years after the poet's death.

The resulting volume, now commonly described as the "First-Folio," constitutes the greatest contribution yet made to English literature, and next to the Bible it has exercised a greater influence on the language, the literature and the life of the nation, than any other book.

The intrinsic value of the "First-Folio" lies not in its external beauty, for it is but a poor specimen of printing, with many inaccuracies in paging and in the running titles, decorated with worn blocks which had been used already elsewhere, and generally wanting in uniformity; nor upon its rarity, since no fewer than 180 copies have survived in varying states of completeness; but that it contains the only extant text of eighteen of Shakespeare's plays never before printed. Indeed, there is little doubt that every play which Shakespeare wrote, or in which he had any considerable share has come down to us in the pages of this volume, with the exception of *Pericles* which was apparently considered at that time to be outside the Shakespearean canon, and did not appear in this format until the "Third-Folio" of 1663.

In the "Register of the Stationers' Company," under date of the 8th of November, 1623, the following entry is to be found:—

M Blounte.
Isaak Jaggard.
Entred for their Copie vnder the hands of M^r^ Do^c^ Worrall and M^r^ Cole warden Master William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories, and Tragedyes soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men. vij^s^

	vizt.
	The Tempest.
	The two gentlemen of Verona.
	Measure for Measure.
Comedyes.	*The Comedy of Errors.*
	As you like it.
	All's well that ends well.
	Twelfe night.
	The winter's tale.
	The thirde parte of Henry ye Sixt.
Histories.	*Henry the Eight.*
	Coriolanus.
	Timon of Athens.
	Julius Cæsar.
Tragedies.	*Mackbeth.*
	Anthonie and Cleopatra.
	Cymbeline.

The twenty other plays contained in the volume, which are not referred to in the entry, were already on the Register in one form or another, and therefore it was unnecessary to enter them afresh. *Anthony and Cleopatra* had previously been entered by Blount, and was probably re-entered in view of partnership arrangements between him and Isaac Jaggard.

In nine of the introductory pages which precede and follow the title-page of the volume, we have an impressive series of testimonies to the character and contemporary reputation of our poet.

If we may place any reliance in the dedicatory letter, with which the volume opens, addressed: "To the Most Noble and Incomparable Paire of Brethren, William, Earle of Pembroke, &c., Lord Chamberlaine to the King's Most Excellent Maiesty, and Philip, Earle of Montgomery, &c., Gentlemen of His Maiestie's Bed Chamber . . ." which is signed Iohn Heminge and Henry Condell; and in the following address: "To the Great Variety of Readers" also signed Iohn Heminge and Henrie Condell, these two intimate friends and fellow-actors of the dramatist were nominally responsible for the venture. PROMOTERS OF THE SCHEME.

TO THE MOST NOBLE
AND
INCOMPARABLE PAIRE
OF BRETHREN.

WILLIAM
Earle of Pembroke, &c. Lord Chamberlaine to the
Kings most Excellent Majesty.

AND

PHILIP
Earle of Montgomery, &c. Gentleman of his Majesties
Bed-Chamber. Both Knights of the most Noble Order
of the Garter, and true Lords indeed.

LORDS.

Right Honourable,

WHilst we studie to be thankfull in our particular, for the many fauors we haue receiued from your L.L. we are falne vpon the ill fortune, to mingle two the most diuerse things that can bee, feare, and rashnesse; rashnesse in the enterprize, and feare of the successe. For, when we valew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know them dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles: and, while we name them trifles, we haue depriu'd our selues of the defence of our Dedication. But since your L.L. haue been pleas'd to thinke these trifles some-thing, heeretofore: and haue prosequted both them, and their Authour liuing, with so much fauour: we hope, that (they out-liuing him, and he not hauing the fate, common with some, to be exequitor to his owne writings) you will vse the like indulgence toward them, you haue done

A 2 vnto

vnto their parent. There is a great difference, whether any Booke choose his Patrones, or finde them: This hath done both. For, so much were your L. L. likings of the severall parts, when they were acted, as before they were published, the Volume asked to be yours. We haue but collected them, and done an office, to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians; without ambition either of self-profit, or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow alive as was our SHAKESPEARE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. Wherein, as we haue iustly obserued, no man to come neere your L. L. but with a kind of religious addresse, it hath bin the height of our care, who are the Presenters, to make the present worthy of your H. H. by the perfection. But there we must also craue our abilities to be considered, my Lords. We cannot go beyond our owne powers. Country hands reach forth milke, creame, fruites, or what they haue: and many Nations (we haue heard) that had not gummes & incense, obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It was no fault to approch their Gods, by what meanes they could: And the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H. H. these remaines of your seruant Shakespeare; that what delight is in them, may be euer your L. L. the reputation his, & the faults ours, if any be committed, by a pair so carefull to shew their gratitude both to the liuing, and the dead, as is

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

IOHN HEMINGE.
HENRY CONDELL.

It seems, however, to have been suggested by a small syndicate of printers and publishers, who undertook all financial responsibility, for although the licence of the Stationers' Company was granted only to Edward Blount and Isaac Jaggard we find in the colophon of the volume that the work was actually "Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623."

Chief of the syndicate was evidently William Jaggard, printer to the City of London since 1611, who was established in business in Fleet Street, at the East end of St. Dunstan's Church. As the publisher of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which appeared in 1599, and upon the title-page of which Shakespeare's name is given as the author, although only five of the poems of which the work is composed were written by him, it is obvious that Jaggard had long known the value of Shakespeare's work. According to Heywood Shakespeare greatly resented the attachment of his name to this volume.

In 1613 Jaggard had extended his business by purchasing the stock and rights of another printer named James Roberts, who had printed in 1600 the quarto editions of *The Merchant of Venice* and of *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in 1604 the complete quarto *Hamlet*.

In 1619 Jaggard, probably in association with Thomas Pavier, Arthur Johnson, and Nathaniel Butler, had been engaged in printing the quartos of that year, which included: *Pericles*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Henry V*, *King Lear*, *and The Whole Contention between the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke, with the Tragedy of Richard Duke of York.* Five of these plays were issued with fictitious dates, the dates of the earlier editions which were being reprinted; and on the title-pages of all except one, the name of Shakespeare is printed as that of the author, although there are grave doubts as to whether he had anything to do with at least two of them. It must be said, however, that in doing this the publishers demonstrated their faith in the popularity of Shakespeare's work.

Professor A. W. Pollard in that incomparable bibliographical study of his, entitled: *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909, to which we have been greatly indebted in the preparation of this article, has put forward a theory as ingenious as it is interesting with regard

to these nine quarto plays of 1619, and he has with the greatest ingenuity made out a very strong case in its favour.

We cannot do more than briefly refer to his conclusions, without following him through all the intricacies of his investigations of signatures, watermarks, and other features, but we commend to those of our readers who are interested in bibliographical problems of this nature, a careful perusal of Dr. Pollard's volume, especially of the chapter dealing with "The Quartos of 1619," for it is, as it has been well described, "a lovely bit of literary and bibliographical detective work."

THE PARTIAL COLLECTION OF 1619.

The suggestion which Dr. Pollard in collaboration with Dr. W. W. Greg makes is that this particular group of nine quartos formed part of a plan to publish a miscellany of all the plays either by, or attributed to Shakespeare, which could be collected together. They were put upon the market at the same time, either in a publisher's binding, or as an unbound set which, to quote Dr. Pollard's actual words, "cried aloud to buyers to bind it up speedily into a volume."

One such collection survives in what is believed to be its original calf binding, which, after passing through the hands of Mr. Quaritch, Mr. Perry of Providence, and Dr. Rosenbach (by whom it was catalogued at $100,000), is now in the collection of Mr. Folger of New York. All other copies seem to have been broken up. The British Museum, and Trinity College, Cambridge, both possess copies of the nine plays, which from their uniform measurement, and appearance almost certainly were bound together like those belonging to Mr. Folger. Indeed, Dr. Pollard has evidence of five such sets which are still, or were quite recently, in existence.

It has been suggested also that the publication of this partial collection of Shakespeare's plays was an incentive to the players at the Globe to get to work to do justice to the name and memory of their friend and colleague, and it may well have been that the publication, in 1616, of a collected edition of Ben Jonson's works, put the idea of a Shakespeare volume into the heads of Jaggard and his coadjutors.

Whatever may have been the case, Jaggard, by reason of his association with this venture, would be in a good position to negotiate with the copy-holders of all the plays in the printing of which he had been associated, and it is not improbable that he was a prime mover in making the arrangements for

THE PUBLISHERS OF THE "FOLIO."

the publication of the "First-Folio," the contract for the printing of which was given to his son Isaac, who had recently succeeded to that side of the business.

James Roberts had enjoyed for nearly twenty years the right to print the players' bills and programmes, which he made over to Jaggard with his other literary property, and it is to the close personal relations with the playhouse managers, into which the acquisition of this right to print the players' bills brought Jaggard after 1613, that the inception of the scheme of the "First-Folio" may be not unreasonably attributed in the opinion of Sir Sidney Lee. Young Jaggard (Isaac) was associated with his father in the enterprise.

The other three members of the syndicate were publishers and booksellers, or stationers, and not printers. Two of them, Aspley and Smethwick, had already speculated in Shakespeare's plays. In 1600 Aspley, in partnership with Andrew Wise, had published *The Second Part of Henry IV*, and in 1609 he took half share in Thorpe's impression of Shakespeare's *Sonnets;* whilst Smethwicke, whose shop was in St. Dunstan's Churchyard, near Jaggard's printing office, had published in 1611 two editions of *Romeo and Juliet*, and one of *Hamlet*.

Edward Blount, whose name occurs in the imprint as well as in the colophon, was something more than merely a publisher for he had a true taste in literature. He began publishing in 1594. He had been a friend and admirer of Christopher Marlowe and had taken an active part in the publication of several of his works. He had issued, in 1603, the first edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*, and in 1620 Shelton's first English translation of *Don Quixote*. He had served apprenticeship with William Ponsonby, the authorised publisher of the works of Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser, had been recognized as a patron of letters, and had himself written dedications and prefaces, which go to prove that he had a personal interest in the books he published. He had published a collection of mystical verse entitled *Love's Martyr*, one poem in which, a poetical essay of *The Phœnix and the Turtle*, was signed William Shakespeare; but he had never actually published any play of Shakespeare, although in 1608 *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Pericles* were entered at Stationers' Hall by him. The former to be printed for the first time in 1623 and the latter by another printer in 1609.

The presumption is that he must have taken a large share in the risk of the book, since in 1632 he was able to transfer to Robert Allott, for whom the "Second-Folio" was printed by Thomas Coates, the sixteen plays of Shakespeare copyrighted in 1623, as if they had been his sole property. We must not, however, argue from this that his importance in the partnership was greater than that of the Jaggards, for it is certain that behind the entries of the Stationers' Register there were often supplementary agreements between the venturers. When a printer appears in association with a group of publishers, his main object usually was, as it still is, to obtain the contract for printing.

There is little doubt that the "First-Folio" was printed in Jaggard's printing office, near St. Dunstan's Church, and it is thought that Blount was responsible for seeing the work through the press, since he possessed more literary feeling than the other partners, and was consequently not improbably the editor of the volume, although it has been conjectured that he had Ben Jonson behind him.

HEMING AND CONDELL.

Before proceeding further it would be as well to enquire to what extent and in what manner Shakespeare's two fellow-actors were editorially responsible for the volume, and to ascertain what is known of these two players, whose names have been immortalized by reason of their friendly association with our dramatist, and with the "First-Folio."

John Heming and Henry Condell, with Richard Burbage and William Shakespeare were four of the chief members of one of the most influential companies of players of the time, the one originally organized by the Earl of Leicester.

By an Act of Parliament of 1571-2, which was re-enacted in 1596, players were under the necessity of procuring a licence from a peer of the realm or person of higher degree, to pursue their calling, otherwise they were adjudged to be of the status of rogues and vagabonds. The Queen herself, and many Elizabethan peers were liberal in the exercise of their licences of power, and few actors failed to secure a statutory licence, which gave them a rank of respectability, and relieved them of the risk of identification with vagrants or "sturdy beggars."

From an early period in Queen Elizabeth's reign licensed actors were organized into permanent companies which were known as "The

Queen's players," or were called after the nobleman to whom the members respectively owed their licences. The company to which Shakespeare and his "fellows" belonged was organized by the Earl of Leicester, and became known as "Lord Leicester's servants." At his death in 1588 the patronage passed to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who, in 1592, became Earl of Derby and they were known as "Lord Strange's men." At Lord Derby's death in 1594 his place as patron was taken by Henry Cary, first Lord Hudson, who was Lord Chamberlain, when the company was styled "The Lord Chamberlain's servants;" and at his death in 1596 he was succeeded by his son, George Cary, second Lord Hudson, who became Lord Chamberlain in 1597. After King James's accession in 1603 the company was promoted to the dignity of "The King's servants."

There is little doubt that under the auspices of this company Shakespeare's plays first saw the light, probably at "The Theatre" in Shoreditch, which was just outside the boundaries of the city of London, since at that time no plays were allowed to be acted within the boundaries of the city.

When Shakespeare settled in London, about 1587, there was actually no licensed theatre within the precincts of the city, notwithstanding that the interest of the drama was advancing like the rising tide with a force which was irresistible.

It is true that in the early days of the Elizabethan age plays had been acted in the dining halls of the wealthy citizens, in the halls belonging to the inns of court and the various trade guilds, as well as in the inn yards, but the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London looked upon these performances with eyes of disfavour, because they considered the actor to be a masterless man, who had no trade—a sort of strolling vagabond who lived upon the largesse of those who looked on at his performances—and also because of the danger of the spread of infection from the plague which had devastated London and England in 1563, a thousand dying weekly in London alone, for, as one of the pulpit logicians argued: "the cause of plagues is sin, and the cause of sin are plays; therefore the cause of plagues are plays." Consequently the city authorities did everything in their power to drive out plays and players from their boundaries. Preachers at St. Paul's Cross and elsewhere denounced the stage, and pamphlets were written

against what the writers were pleased to term "these pomps of Belial," but these steps did little to stem the rising tide of popular fancy for such entertainments. The people had tasted this new joy, and any attempt to suppress these entertainments was just as futile as would be an attempt to suppress newspapers to-day. Indeed, they flourished more than ever, with the result that in 1594 steps were taken towards the regulation of players and plays. This may have been thought necessary on account of the fresh outbreak of plague which occurred in London in 1592, known as the Great Plague and which was hardly extinguished before the end of the century. The best proof of this vitality of interest in dramatic performances is the crowd of writers which suddenly broke into this field, such as Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, Jonson, Chapman, Dekker, Webster, Heywood, Middleton, Peele, Ford, Massinger, Beaumont, and Fletcher.

When the players found they could no longer act in the city, they decided to establish themselves just beyond the limits of the city's jurisdiction, and so at Shoreditch, in 1576, James Burbage built the first playhouse in England, already referred to as "The Theatre," but not until he and his fellow-actors of Lord Leicester's company had obtained a licence from the Queen to act plays in any part of England. At this very time, however, a private theatre was warily started within the precincts of the city. It was a room in the old Blackfriars Priory, leased by the master of the "Children of the Chapel," where under the pretext of training the choir-boys performances were given between 1576 and 1584, when this first Blackfriars theatre was closed. Thirteen years later Burbage formed in the refectory of the same building the second Blackfriars theatre, which, apart from Shakespeare's connection with it, for it was owned by Shakespeare's company, although it was not until 1608, at a time when Shakespeare's acting days were coming to an end, that the Company acted there, it became the most important private theatre in London. Its name appears on the title-pages of over fifty quarto plays, whereas less than half that number can be assigned to the Globe.

Under the authority obtained by Lord Leicester's servants they were empowered to produce such plays as seemed good to them, "as well," said the Queen, "for the recreation of our loving subjects as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall think good to see them." The Court under Elizabeth was a large and exacting consumer of plays,

which were produced in the great halls of the Royal Palaces of Whitehall, Richmond, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor.

This royal patent sanctioned the acting of plays within the liberties of the city, but against this the city magistrates set their faces, and carried on the active agitation already referred to.

It was in Shoreditch, it is thought, that Shakespeare gained his first experience of the stage, and probably tried his prentice hand as dramatist or playwright, but nobody then suspected he was the poet of the human race, and was to become the most famous of Englishmen. Here, no doubt, he found a great many stage plays by all sorts of hands in manuscript, which were in turn produced on the boards. It was no longer possible to say by whom some of these plays were written, they had been the property of the theatre so long, and so many rising playwrights had enlarged or altered them by inserting a speech and at times a whole scene, that no one could any longer claim copyright in them. They were regarded as so much waste stock, or theatre property, on which any experiment could be tried.

Shakespeare himself owed debts in many directions, and was able to use whatever he found, and the amount of his indebtedness may be gauged from Malone's laborious computations in regard to the three parts of *Henry VI*, in which out of 6043 lines, 1771 were written by some preceding author, 2373 by Shakespeare on the foundation laid by his predecessors, whilst 1899 lines were entirely his own. "He borrowed what was available; he knew the sparkle of the true stone, and set it in the highest place whenever he found it."

In 1593 the company to which Shakespeare and Heming and Condell belonged, opened at the Rose Theatre, which Philip Henslow had erected on Bankside, Southwark, and which became the earliest scene of Shakespeare's pronounced successes. In 1599 the Globe was built by Richard Burbage and his brother, also on Bankside, mainly from the materials of the dismantled "Theatre" in Shoreditch, and thenceforward was occupied mainly by Shakespeare's company, quickly winning a foremost place amongst the theatres of London.

From the date of its inauguration until his retirement, the Globe seems to have been the principal playhouse with which Shakespeare was professionally associated, and its success meant to him a greatly increased income, with the result that within a few years he was able to retire to Stratford with a handsome competency. Shakespeare's

two friends and fellow-actors, Heming and Condell, were without doubt part-proprietors of the Globe, and they would share, with him, in its success.

In those days the remuneration of an actor or dramatist was by no means so contemptible as is sometimes supposed. In proof of that statement we need only cite the case of Edward Alleyn, the contemporary actor and theatre proprietor, and founder of Dulwich College, who was able to purchase the Manor of Dulwich for £10,000 in money of his own day, and after devoting much of the property to public uses he was still able to make ample provision for his family out of the residue of his estate.

That Shakespeare was on terms of the closest friendship with his fellow-actors to the end of his life is borne out by the terms of his will, in which he left to each of three theatrical companions: Heming, Burbage, and Condell, the sum of 26s. 8d., with which to buy a memorial ring.

When we remember that Heming and Condell had probably been closely associated with Shakespeare throughout his professional career, not only in the years of prosperity, but also in the years of struggle, and that they would be not unmindful of the fact that they owed much of their success to the gifts of their more brilliant colleague, we can the better appreciate their pious wish to do honour to his memory, and understand the readiness with which they would welcome the opportunity of assisting in the projected publication of his collected works.

In their dedication to the patrons, the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, they proudly assert: "We have but collected them (the plays), and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians; without ambition either of self-profit or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive, as was our SHAKESPEARE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. . . ."

In their address "To the Great Variety of Readers" the following note of lament is struck. "It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished; that the Author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; but since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected

To the great Variety of Readers.

From the most able, to him that can but spell: There you are number'd. We had rather you were weigh'd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! It is now publique, & you will stand for your priuiledges we know: to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. Then, how odde soeuer your braines be, or your wisedomes, make your licence the same, and spare not. Iudge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your flue shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the iust rates, and welcome. But, what euer you do, Buy. Censure will not driue a Trade, or make the Iacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at *Black-Friers*, or the *Cockpit*, to arraigne Playes daily, know, these Playes haue had their triall already, and stood out all Appeales; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court, then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had been a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue been wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued the. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that we haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and giue them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your diuers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost. Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to vnderstand him. And so we leaue you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you needs them not, you can leade your selues, and others. And such Readers we wish him.

A 3 *John Heminge.*
Henrie Condell.

and publish'd them ; and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maim'd, and deformed by the fraudes and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them : even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them. . . . But it is not our province, who onely gather his works, and give them to you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him."

In another paragraph it is asserted that : "What he thought he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers," and it would seem to suggest that they had access if not to Shakespeare's autographs, at any rate to what are described on the title-page as "the True Originall Copies."

Beyond their connection with Shakespeare as fellow-actors, and as part proprietors of the Globe ; and that they were vestrymen of St. Mary Aldermanbury, little is known of the two nominal editors. It is, therefore, impossible to say whether they were endowed with the requisite gifts of editorship or not, and it has been suggested by Dr. Pollard that they did nothing but hand over the "copy" they could collect, and sign their names to the dedication and address.

The tradesmanlike proem, in the opinion of Dr. Pollard, suggests the hand of Blount, and the following passage would seem to support the suggestion : "From the most able, to him that can but spell. There you are number'd. We had rather you were weigh'd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends upon your capacities : and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well ! It is now publique, and you will stand for your priviledges, wee know : to read and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. . . . But, whatever you do, Buy. Censure will not drive a Trade, or make the Jacke to go."

Of all the men connected with the "First-Folio" whose names we know, Blount seems by far the most likely to have taken an active share in the editorial work, though, as Dr. Pollard suggests, some anonymous press corrector in Jaggard's office may have been still more influential.

By enlisting the help of Heming and Condell the publishers secured the use of whatever manuscripts, or printed editions with manuscript additions and corrections, were in the possession of the King's servants,

and we may well wonder how many plays would have passed into oblivion but for them. Whatever their share in the venture we may reasonably credit them with the piety towards their dead friend which in the dedications they endeavoured to express.

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME.

Turning now to the contents of the "First-Folio" we find that of the thirty-six plays of which it is composed, sixteen were in print in earlier quartos, of which forty-four editions good, bad, and indifferent were printed between 1594 and 1622. And yet of half of these, namely: *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry V*, *2 Henry IV*, *Richard III*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Othello*, no use was made, for the editors preferred to print from manuscripts.

In five other instances: *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, and *Titus Andronicus*, the quarto texts, with additions, corrections, and alterations were used.

Only in three cases out of the possible sixteen was the printed text of a quarto taken without amendment, or at least authentication by later use in the theatre. These three plays were: *Love's Labour Lost*, 1598; *The Merchant of Venice*, 1600; and *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599.

Coming now to the twenty plays for which no printed copy was available, sixteen only were entered at Stationers' Hall, namely: *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Twelfth Night*, *Winter's Tale*, *3 Henry VI*, *Henry VIII*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Macbeth*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*.

Four others, hitherto unpublished dramas for which no licence was sought, figure in the volume: *King John*, *1 and 2 Henry VI*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*; but each of these plays was based upon a play of like title, which had been published at an earlier date, and the absence of a licence was doubtless due to the fact that the officers of the Stationers' Company, and perhaps the editors, were ignorant of the true relationship existing between the old pieces and the new. The editors were most likely dependent on play house or prompt copies, which may have included some in Shakespeare's autograph, or with authorized transcripts from them, and in this respect Heming and Condell would be very helpful.

Thus the whole of the "First-Folio" was derived either directly or ultimately from the players, but while some of it had already appeared in print, the greater part of it was printed from manuscripts, of which to our infinite loss no single copy has come down to us, nor, indeed, any authorized edition of any play such as we have of the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.

The question is sometimes asked, why did not Shakespeare himself collect his own plays and prepare them for the press? The answer is not far to seek, since Shakespeare, like his fellow-dramatists, wrote for the stage and not for publication. The playwright's ambition was to see his play on the stage, and if he did publish it, it was seldom without some apology for doing so. The well-attested custom of the time was for the dramatist to sell his rights in his plays to one of the companies of players. Having obtained the manuscript the company did what they liked with it, they abridged it, they augmented it, or caused it to be re-written, either wholly or in part as they pleased. But they refrained from publishing it, especially if the play was a successful one on the stage, for fear of curtailing the profit from their performances if they did so. This policy did not prevent others from supplying any demand for printed copies which might arise. In the absence of any strict laws of copyright it is not surprising that publishers were found ready to snatch a profit by surreptitious publication of the more popular plays of so favourite a writer as Shakespeare. When they could not secure a copy of a play by any other means they would employ a shorthand writer, or to be more correct a note-taker in the rudimentary shorthand known in those days to report it while it was being acted. This report would probably be very imperfect, so it would be patched up by some other hand, and in this way the piratical versions would find their way into print.

"Shakespeare himself profited by this custom in his early days," as we have already hinted. "He took other men's plots, other men's drafts, other men's completed plays, and did to them what he was told, transmuting copper and silver to gold with an alchemy all his own."

ARRANGEMENT OF THE PLAYS.

Sir Sidney Lee considers the arrangement of the plays to be merely haphazard. On the other hand Dr. Pollard is of opinion that the editors deliberately placed the unpublished plays in the most important positions, and hid away in the middle of them those that had already appeared in print.

This evidence furnishes a clue to the editorial ideals of the promoters of the "First-Folio."

For example, of the five Comedies with which the volume opens, four had never before been printed, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which is placed between the two pairs of unprinted pieces, had only appeared in a piractical version, so bad that no use was made of it in the setting up of the "Folio." At the other end of this section four new and one nearly new comedies, *The Taming of the Shrew*, are found to balance the beginning, whilst hidden away in the middle of the two groups are four plays which had already been printed.

In the case of the Histories, which form the second section of the volume, the chronological order of the Kings offered such an obvious principle of arrangement that there was no excuse for manipulating it. It is merely by chance that the first play, *King John*, had never previously been printed in Shakespeare's version, and that the last *King Henry VIII*, had never been printed at all.

In the Tragedies the same method of arrangement has been followed. It is true that this section opens with *Troilus and Cressida*, but this play was only inserted in that position at the last moment, after the "Catalogue" or table of contents had been printed off, and from which it is omitted. Hence the "Catalogue" contains the titles of only thirty-five of the thirty-six plays.

It would appear from the pagination that *Troilus and Cressida* was at first placed immediately after *Romeo and Juliet*, later it was withdrawn for some reason, then at the last moment it was inserted in front of *Coriolanus*, with which the section properly begins. It may be that it is intended to form the conclusion of the second section, which consists of the Histories, for after the first three pages the running title has been changed from "*The Tragedy of Troylus and Cressida*," to "*Troylus and Cressida*," which is most significant when we remember that the quarto edition of the play, published in 1609, is styled *The Famous Historie of Troilus and Cressida*.

It is evident therefore that the editors were very deliberate in emphasising the importance of the unprinted plays as compared with the printed ones.

Another service, in the opinion of some authorities a disservice, which the editors rendered was in the matter of the division of the

A CATALOGVE

of the seuerall Comedies, Hiſtories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume.

COMEDIES.

The Tempeſt.	Fo to 1.
The two Gentlemen of Verona.	20
The Merry Wiues of Windſor.	38
Meaſure for Meaſure.	61
The Comedy of Errours.	85
Much adoo about Nothing.	101
Loues Labour loſt.	122
Midſommer Nights Dreame.	145
The Merchant of Venice.	163
As you Like it.	185
The Taming of the Shrew.	208
All is well, that Ends well.	230
Twelfe-Night, or what you will.	255
The Winters Tale.	304

HISTORIES.

The Life and Death of King Iohn.	Fol. 1.
The Life & death of Richard the ſecond.	23
The Firſt part of King Henry the fourth.	46
The Second part of King Henry the fourth.	74
The Life of King Henry the Fift.	69
The Firſt part of King Henry the Sixt.	96
The Second part of King Hen. the Sixt.	120
The Third part of King Henry the Sixt.	147
The Life & Death of Richard the Third.	173
The Life of King Henry the Eight.	200

TRAGEDIES.

The Tragedy of Coriolanus.	Fol.
Titus Andronicus.	31
Romeo and Juliet.	53
Timon of Athens.	80
The Life and death of Iulius Cæſar.	109
The Tragedy of Macbeth.	131
The Tragedy of Hamlet.	152
King Lear.	283
Othello, the Moore of Venice.	310
Anthony and Cleopater.	345
Cymbeline King of Britaine.	362

plays into acts and scenes. With one or two partial exceptions the quartos printed before 1623 were wholly undivided, and these were included in the "Folio" very much as they had been printed originally, whilst the previously unprinted plays were fully or partially divided. Another editorial service was the substitution in a number of instances of literary for stage directions. In other words the notes or rubrics reminding the promoter or actor of what had to be done were replaced by notes to help the reader to understand the play.

THE TEXT OF THE "FOLIO."

Although the editors exercised their prerogative in such matters as divisions into scenes and acts, it is highly improbable that there was any editorial meddling with the text. There seems to be every probability that when the "copy," whether in manuscript or printed form, was once obtained, it was sent to the printer untouched as far as the text was concerned, and the printer was left to reproduce it as accurately as he could.

Dr. Howard Furness in his monumental "New Variorum edition of Shakespeare," which after fifty years of patient and scholarly examination of the plays, is still in course of publication,[1] has submitted the text to the most thorough critical test, and does not hesitate to give it as his opinion that when a quarto was thought good enough to print from, though it was a clear gain to have the folio text as well as the quarto, it is almost always the latter, the quarto, that wins support. Indeed, it is an editorial consensus of opinion that quarto readings are mostly to be preferred to those in the "First-Folio."

These differences were not necessarily the result of editorial meddling with the text, but should be debited to the printers. There is no reason, however, to take any gloomy view of the result. To omit one line of text, and to turn another into a stage direction are, as Dr. Pollard remarks, high crimes when the author whose work is thus maltreated is Shakespeare, but when these are the most serious of the defects that can be found, it is nonsense to pile up epithets in depreciation of the poor journeyman printer.

We may take comfort from the fact that it is more difficult to print from manuscript than from type matter. The difficulty in our own day is met by giving the work to experienced compositors instead

[1] The work is being continued by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Junior, who was co-editor with his father between 1901 and 1912, the year of the latter's death.

of to prentice hands, so that it is a commonplace amongst authors and editors that the worst "copy" often yields the best proof. We are fairly safe, therefore, in assuming that the plays printed for the first time in 1623 were at least as correctly set up as those which were reprinted from earlier editions.

It is not generally realized to what extent the "First-Folio" survives in all our texts, and how little it varies, save in stage-directions, from the most popular texts of the present day. In appraising the value of the "First-Folio," Dr. Furness, in the prefaces to his edition of *Love's Labour Lost* and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, surveys the whole field, and bases his arguments upon the excellent conservative text of the "Globe edition," which is the offspring of the epoch-making "Cambridge edition," edited by the late Dr. Aldis Wright, the first volume of which appeared sixty years ago (in 1863), and which is still accepted the world over as the standard modern text. Dr. Furness remarks that the whole question of texts, with their varying degrees of excellence, which had endlessly vexed the Shakespearean world has gradually subsided, for which we are mainly indebted to the excellent text of the "Globe edition," and to the device of its editors, who have placed an obelus against every line "wherever the original text has been corrupted in such a way as to affect the sense, no admissible emendation having been proposed, or whenever a lacuna occurs too great to be filled up with any approach to certainty by conjecture." Here, then, says Dr. Furness, "we have ocular proof of the number of passages which, through the error of compositors, have been, in the past, subject of contention by our forbears."

"From the emphasis of the exclamations at defective passages uttered by critics of years gone by, and from their insistence on the corrupt state of Shakespeare's text, it would be naturally inferred that these obeli, or marked passages, were to be found freely scattered on every page." The actual state of the case is as follows: The number of lines in Shakespeare's "Dramas" and "Poems" as given in the "Globe edition," has been computed to be 114,402 (the "First-Folio" which consists of the "Dramas" only contains 66,000 lines). Now the editors of the "Globe edition" were prudent in their use of the obelus, and wisely prefixed too many rather than too few. Indeed, there are not wanting critics who maintain that in many instances lines that were thus condemned admit of satisfactory explanation. The

number of marked passages errs, therefore, if at all, on the side of fullness. And yet in all these 114,402 lines we find that those marked as hopelessly corrupt number only about 130, which means that there is only one obstinately refractory line or passage in every 880.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the denunciation of Shakespeare's defective text is becoming gradually of the faintest. We cannot be far astray if hereafter we assume that this text has descended to us in a condition which may be characterized as fairly good; and we may also say, on the authority of Dr. Furness, that it has come down to us with but slight modification exactly as printed in the "First-Folio."

Within the last two years a new Cambridge edition has been launched, under the editorship of Mr. Dover Wilson and Sir Quiller Couch, of which six plays have been issued, and it is interesting to note that four of the six rest wholly on the "First-Folio," one on the "First-Folio" and a surreptitious quarto, and one on the "First-Folio" and a good quarto.

On the whole Messrs. Jaggard, Blount, Smethwicke and Aspley, with Messrs. Heming and Condell, are entitled to our lasting gratitude for having, at considerable pains, formed the Shakespeare Canon, and selected the best material from which to print. They may not have exercised the care we could have wished in the reading of the proofs, and in seeing the plays through the press, but we must not forget that they had no conception of the importance of their project, no idea that Shakespeare was to become the most famous of Englishmen, that they were dealing with the greatest of all English books next to the Bible, yet they did preserve for us eighteen of Shakespeare's plays from total destruction, and printed greatly improved texts of several others.

NUMBER OF COPIES.

It is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, what number of copies of the "First-Folio" were printed. Sir Sidney Lee suggests six hundred, but when we consider the wide popularity of Shakespeare's works, coupled with the surprising fact that so many as 180 copies, of which fifteen are in their original state of completeness, have survived the vicissitudes of 300 years of usage, we are disposed to think that the edition must have consisted of at least a thousand copies.

The argument in favour of the larger number is strengthened when we discover that of the works of first-rate literary importance produced

during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, few can be shown to have survived in so many copies of their original edition.

The volume was no doubt widely read, and no special precaution appears to have been taken to preserve copies of it within the first century of its publication. Indeed, it is recorded that when the "Third-Folio" made its appearance in 1663, and it was discovered to contain a larger number of plays than the "First-Folio," one learned institution discarded its copy of the original edition, and replaced it by the later one. George Steevens tells us that it was a customary possession of country houses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was ordinarily kept in the hall, where the household was wont to take its meals, so that it is not difficult to account for the discoloration that characterises many of the surviving copies of the volume.

PRICE OF THE "FOLIO."

The price at which the volume was originally published, if the information furnished by George Steevens is to be relied upon, was twenty shillings for a copy in sheets; and there seems to have been very little appreciation in the value of copies during the succeeding hundred years.

Within recent years the prices obtained for copies in the sale room have advanced by leaps and bounds, largely through the competition of American collectors, who have come to regard a copy of the "First-Folio" as the corner-stone of any library that is worthy of the name.

An interesting array of facts and figures relating to the copies which have come down to us, and the gradual appreciation in their pecuniary value as it is revealed in the prices at which they have changed hands since the first recorded sale of a copy in 1756, has been brought together by Sir Sidney Lee in his invaluable "Census of Extant Copies," which forms the supplement to the "Oxford Facsimile of the Chatsworth copy of the First-Folio," which was issued in 1902 under his editorship; and we have ventured to glean from that interesting record a few notes relating to some of the more noteworthy of the surviving copies.

The earliest recorded price obtained for a copy at auction was 3 guineas, the price paid in 1756 for the copy which had belonged to Sir Martin Folkes, the then lately deceased President of the Royal Society. It was at one time in the possession of Lewis Theobald, the

Shakespearean editor, who is known to have been assisted in his work by Sir Martin Folkes. At the sale referred to the copy was acquired by George Steevens, by him it was later made over to Earl Spencer, and is now one of the two copies preserved in the John Rylands Library.

Some time later David Garrick is said to have purchased a copy from Thomas Payne, the bookseller, for 36s., but the standard of value was beginning to rise.

In 1770 a fine copy sold for 5 guineas. In 1792 13 guineas was paid for what is described as a superb copy. In 1787 a copy, bound in Russia, was sold for £10; and in 1801 14 guineas was given for the copy of Samuel Ireland, the father of the Shakespearean forger. In 1790 the Duke of Roxburghe paid £35 14s. for the Watson Reed copy, which at the sale of the Duke's Library in 1812, became the Chatsworth copy, and changed hands for £100.

In 1818 Thomas Grenville created a new standard by paying £121 16s. for a copy—"the highest price ever given, or likely to be given for this volume" wrote Thomas Frognall Dibdin in his "Library Companion."

In 1821 the Kemble copy was sold to James Boswell, Junior, for £112 0s. 7d., and five years later the same copy was purchased by Sir John Soane for £105. In 1827 Henry Perkins bought his copy for £110 5s.

In 1854 the American competition began, when James Lenox, the New York collector, acquired a copy for £163 13s.

But all these prices were eclipsed in 1864, when George Daniell's copy was acquired for Miss Burdett-Coutts at the price of £716 2s., the identical copy which was purchased last year by Dr. Rosenbach for £8,600. A writer in *The Times* of 28th July, 1864, refers to this sale in the following terms: "We are right glad to find that it (the greatest prize of the day) has fallen to a most bounteous and large-minded lady for no more than 682 guineas. The day will come . . . when our children's children will hear that it has been sold for ten times that sum."

In 1891 a new record was reached in New York, when the Sir William Tite copy, which had been purchased in 1874 for £440, by Mr. Brayton Ives, realised £840. A few years later another record was achieved by a British citizen, Mr. MacGeorge of Glasgow, who

paid £1700 for the Belleroche copy—to be again surpassed, in 1901, by Mr. Quaritch's purchase of the Dormer Hunter copy for £1720.

Very much depends, of course, upon the condition of the copy offered, but the average price for a good copy, which was regarded by Sir Sidney Lee in 1902 to be in the neighbourhood of a thousand pounds, has now been left far behind.

With the growth of American libraries, and wealthy collectors, who regard one or even more copies of the "First-Folio" as the essential part of the equipment of a library—one American collector has acquired the record number of eight copies—the volume has greatly increased in value.

The record in open market was reached last year when Dr. Rosenbach, as already stated, paid £8,600 for the Burdett-Coutts copy. But in the previous year £10,000 was paid for a copy containing the portrait-title in an unfinished state. It was acquired for the British Museum, thanks to the munificence of a benefactor who provided about five-sixths of the cost, and desires to remain anonymous.

THE DROESHOUT PORTRAIT.

The portrait of Shakespeare which appears on the title-page of the "First-Folio," was engraved by Martin Droeshout, who belonged to a family of Flemish painters and engravers who had long been settled in London, where he was born in 1601. It is thought that Martin's family were living on Bankside at the time that Shakespeare was resident there, and that therefore young Droeshout, although only fifteen years of age at the death of our poet, would probably be familiar with Shakespeare's features.

The engraved portrait is thought to have been based upon a panel painting now known as the "Flower portrait," which is preserved in the Memorial Picture Gallery at Stratford, and which may have been painted by an uncle of the engraver, of the same name.

This engraved portrait exists in two states. In the unfinished state there is no shading on the left side of the white collar, the moustache is unfinished, and there are a number of fine lines in the forehead, which quickly wore off the plate when later copies were printed.

The only known copies of the portrait in this unfinished state are four in number: in the copy of the "First-Folio" recently acquired by the British Museum, at a cost of £10,000; in the Malone copy in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; in a copy in the collection of Mr. Folger, of New York, who also possesses the 1619 composite

volume of nine plays; and a copy of the portrait-title only, which formerly belonged to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, and is now at Stratford.

REPRODUCTIONS OF THE "FOLIO."

There have been several reproductions of the "First-Folio" published. The first was issued in 1807 by E. and J. Wright, which was re-issued in 1808. William Upcott, at the suggestion of Porson, read this through with the original, and claimed to have found 368 typographical errors, but they are for the most part of little importance, and only forty are material, of which a list was printed in a communication to "Notes and Queries," 3rd Ser., vol. 7, p. 139, 18 February, 1865.

The second attempt was made in 1862-64 by Lionel Booth. It was carefully printed, and was published in three parts, but is said to have been financially a disastrous speculation.

In 1866 was issued a reproduction by photo-lithography executed by R. W. Preston, under the superintendence of Howard Staunton, and printed by Day & Son. A reduced edition of this reproduction, with an introduction by J. G. Halliwell-Phillipps, was issued by Chatto and Windus in 1876, and again at New York in 1887.

In 1893, D. C. Dallas commenced a reduced facsimile in Dallas type, but only three parts were published.

In 1902 the Oxford University Press issued a reproduction in collotype facsimile of the Chatsworth copy, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, with an introduction and a supplement containing a "Census of Extant Copies" with some account of their history and condition by Sir Sidney Lee. This is by far the most satisfactory reproduction from every point of view, and its value is greatly enhanced by the editorial appendices.

In 1910 Messrs. Methuen & Company published a facsimile edition, as one of their set of facsimile reproductions of the four folios.

THE J.R.L. COPIES.

The John Rylands Library is in possession of two copies of the coveted volume. The first which is registered in Sir Sidney Lee's "Census" as No. 48, is in excellent condition but for the absence of two of the preliminary leaves: "To the memorie of the deceased Author," and "The Workes." It was owned by Lewis Theobald, the Shakespearean editor, and was later acquired by Sir Martin Folkes, sometime President of the Royal Society; in 1756, at the sale of the library of Sir Martin Folkes, the copy was acquired for 3 guineas by George Steevens, another

Shakespearean editor, who appears to have made it over to Earl Spencer about 1790, and it remained at Althorp until 1892, when it was purchased as part of the Althorp Library by Mrs. Rylands, the founder of this Library.

The second copy was bequeathed to the Library with a set of the other folios, by Mrs. Rylands; and does not figure in the "Census." Unfortunately the history of the copy is not known. It is quite complete, although two or three of the preliminary leaves have been mounted and repaired, but it is otherwise in excellent condition and genuine throughout.

SOME RECENT AUTHORITIES.

In compiling this brief summary of the history of the "First-Folio," it has been impossible to escape incurring indebtedness to the work of such recent authorities in Shakespearean research as Professor A. W. Pollard and Sir Sidney Lee. Indeed, we have made no attempt to do so, and we take this opportunity of making our acknowledgments to them, at the same time offering to those of our readers who may wish to follow up the subject, a list of a few of the most helpful of the works which have been published during the last few years.

SHAKESPEARES COMEDIES, Histories and Tragedies. Being a Reproduction in Facsimile of the First-Folio Edition, 1623, from the Chatsworth Copy, in the Possession of the Duke of Devonshire, K.G. With introduction and census of copies by Sidney Lee. *Oxford: At the Clarendon Press*, 1902. Folio, pp. xxxvi, 908.

—— —— A Supplement to the Reproduction in Facsimile . . . containing: A Census of Extant Copies, with some Account of their History and Condition by Sidney Lee. *Oxford: At the Clarendon Press*, 1902. Folio, pp. 48.

BARTLETT (H. C.) and POLLARD (A. W.). A census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, 1594-1709. *New Haven: Yale University Press*; *London: Humphrey Milford*, 1916. 4to., pp. xlii, 154.

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IN COMMEMORATION of the First-Folio Tercentenary: A Resetting of the Preliminary Matter of the First-Folio, with a Catalogue

of Shakespeariana in the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, Illustrated Facsimiles, and Introduction by Sir Israel Gollancz, Litt.D., F.B.A. . . . *London:* For the Shakespeare Association by Humphrey Milford, 1923. 8vo., pp. 56.

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POEL (WILLIAM). Prominent Points in the Life and Writings of Shakespeare. Arranged in Four Tables. *Manchester: University Press; London: Longmans*, 1918. 8vo.

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STOPES (MRS. C. C.). Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage. *London: Alex. Moring Ltd.*, 1913. 8vo., pp. xvi, 272.

THORNDIKE (ASHLEY H.). Shakespeare's Theatre, With Illustrations. *New York: Macmillan Co.*, 1916. 8vo., pp. xvi, 472.

MUSIC IN SHAKESPEARE.

By W. WRIGHT ROBERTS, B.A.

ASSISTANT-LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

IT happened that in 1623, the year of the publication of the First Folio, three leading English composers died—Philip Rosseter the lutenist and song-writer, Thomas Weelkes the madrigalist, and William Byrd, whose sacred choral music is among the chief glories of the age of Elizabeth. We may therefore be excused, in the tercentenary year of the Folio, if we attempt to trace the significance of music in the works of Shakespeare. He lived through the palmy time of English musical greatness. This aspect of the life of his age is duly reflected in his plays and poems. We know, of course, that any specialised line of approach to him has its own dangers. We shall do our best to avoid them.

Within limits that look narrow to-day, Elizabethan music was wonderfully alive. It was still in some degree the appanage of the Church and of public and private ceremony. But it had quickly found a home in the theatre ; the drama, with its incidental music for instruments, and its interspersed songs, had in fact many elements of the modern miscellaneous concert. The masque, more strictly a Stuart development, foreshadowed the opera ; in *The Tempest* (1611) it overflowed into the drama. Thus while neither orchestra, concert, nor opera had independent existence, their elements were in being. Music did not of itself court publicity ; the *prima donna*, the *primo uomo*, with their train of vanities, had not arrived. The best music, all polyphonic and vocal, was heard either in church or in the domestic circle. The sacred compositions of Byrd and Gibbons, which need fear no comparison with those of Palestrina himself, were rivalled in quality by many of our secular works. These ranged from the serious type of madrigal often written by Wilbye to the sportive ballets in which Thomas Morley excelled. The secular trend of the art was typically Elizabethan. The flood of madrigals and kindred

works, inspired by Italian example, was a counterpart of the great poetic outpouring. Madrigals were sung in private, by friends sitting round a table, their part-books in front of them. There were rarely more than six parts, with one voice to each ; lutes, viols or virginals filled in missing parts when necessary. The madrigal was the thing, rather than its ideal performance. The solo art-song, with instrumental accompaniment, was a comparatively recent growth, cultivated by Rosseter, Campion, Jones, and Dowland. Purely instrumental art was yet in its infancy, though already, in the hands of Dr. John Bull, virginal music had made remarkable technical progress.

Not only from countless allusions in contemporary literature, but from specific statements like those in Morley's *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), it is clear that part-singing at sight, and the mastery of at least one instrument, were accomplishments expected of a gentleman. From the swarming references, in Shakespeare and elsewhere, to contemporary folk-song and folk-dance, from the numerous ballad-tags, catches and refrains scattered through the drama, we may also assume a remarkable love of music, and a degree of accomplishment in it, among the homelier classes of Elizabethan society.

Shakespeare viewed the art from no erudite standpoint. Milton seems to have been able to hear music polyphonically ; he can show us in three lines that he understands the essence of fugue form. It is unlikely that Shakespeare could have done either. Still, he rarely trips in technical detail, even when he courts disaster by making his characters bandy musical terms like tennis-balls. As his references crop up we get the impression of a keen-witted but easy-going amateur, broadly familiar with the talk of music-makers in the theatre and in courtly and popular society. Music in Shakespeare is mainly a social phenomenon. He reflects the secular tendency of the art which for so long had been the handmaid of the Church. His references to sacred music are few and conventional. Further, he rarely alludes to the more serious forms of secular vocal art. We can hardly see him at a table with madrigal-singers, or even listening to them. Actors, as such, did not come within range of this music ; even as he rose in the social scale Shakespeare would have little leisure for it. As actor-manager, he would come into contact with solo singers and with instrumentalists. Where music in his plays touches art, it generally has

to do with these two categories. Where, as often, it touches conviviality and riot, it has to do with popular vocalism.

This latter branch has a prescriptive right to be treated first. Shakespeare mentions many folk-songs, mainly in scenes of a humorous order. They were well known to his audience ; it is reasonable to suppose that some at least were his own favourites, especially when he shows that he has a definite notion of their character. "Greensleeves," first printed in 1580, is twice referred to in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Mrs. Ford (II. 1) comments thus on her first love-letter from Falstaff : "I would have sworn his disposition would have gone to the truth of his words, but they do no more adhere and keep place together than the Hundredth Psalm to the tune of 'Greensleeves.'" Later (V. 5) Falstaff is waiting for Mrs. Ford beneath Herne's oak. He sees her coming, and breaks into a strain of grotesque heroics : "Let the sky rain potatoes, let it thunder to the tune of 'Greensleeves.'" This tune has a vigorous lilt of the country-dance ; two fine unconventional leaps give boldness to its melodic line. Thunder crashing to it would be Falstaffian, a jolly jest of Titans, that would "make the welkin dance indeed." The poet knew that "Light o' love" and "Heartsease" were cheerful tunes ; he prescribes both as a remedy for the dumps, and he notes that the former "goes without a burden," or refrain. One song mentioned in *The Winter's Tale* (IV. 3) is of peculiar interest to Manchester librarians. This is the "Ballad of Jinny and Johnny," of the nymph who through many verses sits perched on a hill, putting off her swain with "Whoop, do me no harm, good man." The earliest manuscript of this tune is in the Henry Watson Music Library. Its interest is more than antiquarian, for the melody has lovely curves ; its tinge of unusual wistfulness is deepened here and there by the flattened seventh of the Mixolydian mode. The scene of revelry in which this song is mentioned gives us Shakespeare's closest study of the popular music-making of his day. We are in Stratford meadows, for all the talk of Bohemia. The poet, home from theatrical toil in London, looks on at the festivities of a sheep-shearing. The rogue Autolycus, pedlar for the nonce, comes with his ballads to the old shepherd's door, and chaffers with the country girls :—

Autolycus : This is a merry ballad, but a very pretty one.

Mopsa : Let's have some merry ones.

Autolycus: Why, this is a passing merry one, and goes to the tune of 'Two maids wooing a man': there's scarce a maid westward but she sings it: 'tis in request, I can tell you.

Mopsa: We can both sing it: if thou'lt bear a part thou shalt hear; 'tis in three parts.

Dorcas: We had the tune on't a month ago.

Autolycus: I can bear my part; you must know 'tis my occupation: have at it with you.

And then they sing "Get you hence, for I must go," a dialogue song for three voices. All this chimes in with the customs of the age. There is no need to imagine that such songs were always good music. Often, doubtless, they were no better than "Hold thy peace, thou knave," the extant catch in *Twelfth Night*, "a trivial two-bar production" writes Dr. Walker, "which must have been very well within the powers of Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek, even in their most convivial moods." Still, part-singing, whether trivial or serious, was then an essential feature of musical life. Two country girls might strike into a trio with a pedlar, at a moment's notice and as a matter of course. The folk-songs were often of rare spirit and beauty. Popular music, as we find it in Shakespeare, was in a thoroughly healthy condition. Best of all, people made it themselves. The world of modern music, doubtless, is infinitely wider. But pestilent growths have choked the Elizabethan plant—widespread ignorance, sloppy amateurishness, showmanship, commercialism, and the shop-ballad.

Shakespeare drew most of his musical terms from the instrumentalists' vocabulary. The lute gave him some favourite figures. We should remember in passing that the sonnet in *The Passionate Pilgrim* referring to Dowland, the lutenist, is by Barnfield, and that the Bianca scenes, full of lute technicalities, in *The Taming of the Shrew* are probably unauthentic. Even so, many allusions remain to show that the poet understood the main peculiarities of this instrument. Its tender, evanescent tone had no strength, it was not of much use for part-playing; though it could provide a beautiful if sketchy accompaniment to a song. With their twelve strings—six unison pairs—and the extra bass strings of the archlute, instruments of this family were very difficult to keep in tune. If Shakespeare's ears were only normally acute he must have heard "jars" on lute-strings most

days of his life. No wonder that figures drawn from strings out of tune are common in Elizabethan drama. "Frets," another technical term, denoted the ridges across the finger board, which guided the fingers in "stopping" the strings. This word is tortured into an elaborate figure in *Lucrece*, 1140. Hamlet uses it punningly of Guildenstern, who can "fret him" but not "play upon him." Of bowed instruments—the viols—the favourite was the one now inseparably linked with Sir Andrew Aguecheek. "He plays o' the viol-de-gamboys, and speaks three or four languages word for word without book, and hath all the good gifts of nature." Sir Toby means the viola da gamba, which had six strings and was played against the knees like the modern 'cello. Compared with the tone of that instrument, its sound was dull and nasal; and bowing, naturally, was a delicate matter. Still, it looked well against the knees of a gentleman of quality dressed in the gay costume of the period. Many prints and allusions assure us of its vogue.

In the "jack" Sonnet (CXXVIII.) Shakespeare makes for once a bad slip in musical terminology. The work is a curious piece of familiar realism, one of the tenderest of its kind. He envies the "saucy jacks," that kiss the Dark Lady's hands when she plays on the virginals. This small instrument, one of the tinkling precursors of the modern pianoforte, was played as it rested on a table; it could not be heard across a fair-sized room. The jacks were little wooden objects, with quills attached, which plucked the strings as the keys set them in motion. They could not possibly touch the lady's hands as she played. Shakespeare means the keys. It was over them, not over the jacks, that her fingers "walked with gentle gait." The scene in *Hamlet* (III. 2) where the Prince banters Rosencrantz and Guildenstern about the recorders, shows that the poet knew the elementary technique of these instruments, the flutes of their day. We are tempted, as elsewhere in *Hamlet*, to give this incident an application personal to Shakespeare. "O! the recorders: let me see one," says the Prince, fingering the instrument as it is handed to him, and blowing into it, as he gives the courtiers his little apologue on curiosity; "govern these ventages with your finger and thumb, give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most eloquent music." Shakespeare the manager may well have tried fingers and breath in an idle moment on a recorder handed to him by an instrumentalist in the

theatre. However that may be, the scene naturally leads us to the consideration of incidental music.

It is unknown to what extent the modern stage directions represent Shakespeare's own wishes. It is likely, however, that the indications for music represent them fairly well. Sometimes the text confirms this; and such things, in his day, were largely stereotyped. Specific "consorts"—families of instruments, of differing pitch but similar tone-quality—were used for specific purposes. Music vied with spoken word and action, with story and costume, in its appeal to the audience. The appeal sometimes grew into an assault. Though theatres were partly unroofed, and audiences noisy, the harsh trumpets of those days must often have been an infliction. They were used, with drums, in scenes of war and pageantry, especially in the historical plays. Well might the writer of the epilogue to *Henry VIII.* admit a fear that they had disturbed would-be sleepers. The noise of *Henry V.* and *Coriolanus* must have been as bad. The trumpet was a "fearful wildfowl" in the instrumental menagerie of those times; one word conveys the fastidious Hamlet's scorn of its din :—

> "The kettle-drum and trumpet thus *bray* out
> The triumph of his pledge."

Cornets—not to be confused with the modern instruments of that name—and sackbuts, their bass complement, formed a "consort" of pleasanter tone-quality, foreshadowing crudely the modern trombones. They were used in scenes of tragedy and solemn ceremonial. For indoor scenes, cornets sometimes replaced the noisy trumpets. Where there is hunting, we must listen for the horns. These also, in the poet's day, could only be called musical when heard in the open air and at a distance. Boyish impressions of the chase in fields near Stratford may account for the verbal sound-pictures of hunting in several early works. There is a stilted attempt at one in *Titus Andronicus* (II. 2) :—

> "And whilst the babbling echo mocks the hounds,
> Replying shrilly to the well-tun'd horns,
> As if a double hunt were heard at once,
> Let us sit down and mark their yelping noise;"

there is the hare-hunt, carefully and vividly recorded, in *Venus and Adonis* (678-708), and the still finer description in *A Midsummer*

Night's Dream (IV. 1) in which the same sound-impressions, of hounds and horns and echo in "musical confusion," delight the ear.

Hautboys are sometimes mere noise-producers, but in two scenes they are definitely used for an effect of the sinister supernatural. Their reedy, penetrating tones give the right instrumental colour to the incantation scene in *Macbeth* (IV. 1). They are aptly used also in the scene in *Antony and Cleopatra* (IV. 3) where, to music under the stage, the god Hercules moves away with his unseen train from the doomed Antony. Here Shakespeare translates into musical sound, and a few whispered comments of the guards, a description elaborated in Plutarch. Other scenes of the supernatural demand the recorders, which had a sweet, woody tone-quality. Such are fairy scenes, and many of those in which "soft" or "still" music is indicated. Stringed instruments were mainly used to accompany songs; yet it is clear that strings might also prepare the audience for the supernatural—an important function of music in Elizabethan drama. There is a beautiful instance of this in *Julius Cæsar* (IV. 3). The tense emotions of the "quarrel scene" have relaxed; Brutus has discussed plans of campaign and is now alone at night in his tent. He calls for his servant-boy Lucius, who plays a stringed instrument—a lute probably—and sings. The tired boy falls asleep over his music. Brutus turns the leaves of a book; the hush is at its deepest. The ghost of Cæsar stands before him. Music, which has played its part in the long diminuendo of emotion, is seen also to have prepared us for a visitant from the other world.

Shakespeare's use of incidental music is at its subtlest germane to his use of songs. Much has been written on their functions. They heighten the dominant mood of a scene; they dally with it, or relax it; they give atmosphere; they help to supply the lack of scenery (notably in *As You Like It*); they further the action, or tide over pauses in it; they lend variety to a popular show. But the simple fact that the songs were sung, and their accompaniments played, has seldom been rightly appreciated. Songs should not be thought of as recited, where it is clear from the context that they are sung. Mr. Richmond Noble, in a recent study, has pointed out how the very sequences of vowels and consonants in the Shakespearean lyric are pleasant to sing; how the sentence movement of the songs lends itself to musical phrases, which are sometimes indicated by the very punctua-

tion of Quarto or Folio. In a purely technical sense these lyrics ask to be sung ; apart altogether from their spontaneity and directness, their indefinable surge and spring, and their magical play of fancy. Since the poet did so much in advance for his composers, it is important that we too should conjure up in the mind, when reading, something like the aural background or atmosphere originally intended. We possess a few contemporary settings, two of which are in their way perfect—" It was a lover and his lass " and the " Willow " song. The melody of the first is perhaps by Morley ; that of the second is traditional, and both may be. By these we may imagine the character of the lost settings, banishing for the time all later ones—even Purcell's—from the inward ear. We must conjure up simple, diatonic melody, often modal in flavour ; melody of no great emotional depth, commanding a few simple moods between plaintiveness and gaiety. It must never distort the words ; its main accents must correspond with theirs, its phrases with theirs ; and words must only be repeated if they are in the nature of a refrain. For accompaniment, we may imagine a faint, detached background of lute tone, or a rather fuller one with viols or recorders. Such, or something like it, was the effect of most of the lyrics, those falling outside the category being ballad-tags, catches and choruses which would most likely be trolled unaccompanied. Whatever the moods of the songs—and their emotional range is immense—they reflect in varying degrees the dominant moods of the works in which they occur. Remembering the chronological order which has, in essentials, long been settled by scholars, we may now attempt to trace a few special meanings which music acquired for Shakespeare in the course of the years.

His early Euphuistic word-play turns not infrequently on the technical terms of music. Such writing, often mere barren ingenuity or verbal high spirits, takes on real humour in Moth's study of the moonstruck musical gallant in *Love's Labour's Lost* (III. 1) ; and human feeling is heard through Julia's quibble " He plays false, father," when in disguise she learns of Proteus' treachery. Older critics have blamed as incongruous the quibbling of the musicians who have come to play at Juliet's wedding and are told that she is dead. Their professional talk really helps to make the scene. Their wit is feeble ; but the awestruck practicality of that first remark, " Faith, we may put up our pipes, and be gone," and Peter's invoking of cheerful

songs like "Heartsease," or "Some merry dump, to comfort me," are in no joking sense "tragical mirth," a forlorn attempt at keeping up the spirits under the shadow of calamity. Music is one strand in the gossamer web of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Not only do the fairies' songs give atmosphere, but wonderful sound-pictures strike on the ear from time to time—the description of the song of the "mermaid on a dolphin's back," and the hunting-impression already alluded to. In *The Merchant of Venice* music has an organic function, and a curious one. It is, bluntly, to make us forget Shylock and reality. In the first romantic climax of the play, when Bassanio "comments on the caskets to himself," and Portia soliloquises in musical images, the one lyric in the work is heard. It gives Bassanio a fairly broad hint, but it also anticipates the spell of the songs in *The Tempest*. It seems to hang in the air. It lightly propounds a query, lightly answers it, and "rings Fancy's knell." The action of the play swells to its climax in the Trial scene; then music, in the Fifth Act, vies with poetry in drawing a gorgeous romantic veil over the real world and its denizens, one of whom—Shylock—has lately come so terribly alive. This last act, up to a point, is bathed in music. The lovers' antiphony, heard in the moonlight, is such a harmony of words that under its spell we feel the loud calls of Launcelot,

"Sola, sola! wo ha ho! sola, sola!"

to be only another kind of music breaking in upon it. Now the musicians come forward; Lorenzo weaves golden eloquence round the Pythagorean notion of the music of the spheres, and delivers his well-known judgment—one that suits his nature and possibly the young Shakespeare's—on "the man that hath no music in himself." Portia and Nerissa now enter, and talk about the fit seasons for music. Then Portia's words,

"Peace, ho! the moon sleeps with Endymion,"

silence the strains, bringing back intrigue and the light of common day.

Richard II, sensitive and petulant, is distracted by music ill rendered; he reviles it when it first reaches his ears in prison; then his self-absorbed mind gives a personal application to "time broke in a disorder'd string" (v. 5). In Hotspur we meet with a robust scorn of the whole business. "I had rather hear Lady, my brach, howl in Irish," he declares, when a Welsh song is to be sung by Lady

Mortimer (*1 Henry IV*, III. 1). The same attitude can be traced in the later comedies. Benedick admits the mystery of the art when he wonders that "sheeps' guts should hale souls out of men's bodies," but he comments as rudely as Hotspur himself on Balthazar's singing of "Sigh no more, ladies." Shakespeare does not overlook the point of view of the man who cannot or will not be impressed. *As You Like It*, bright with lyrics that sing its sunny philosophy, and mellow with the forester's horn, has in Jaques a professed railer at music and at most generous things. He growls curmudgeonly at Amiens, the singer, who apologises (as singers do) for a "ragged voice" that cannot please him: "I do not desire you to please me; I do desire you to sing." The music-makers in this play get scant courtesy. "God be with you; and God mend your voices," says Touchstone to the pages who have just sung "It was a lover and his lass." Is it possible that in such utterances a mood personal to the dramatist peeps out—a touch of exasperation, a hint of raw nerves, as the first shades of the dark period fall on him?

Twelfth Night, the loveliest of all comedies, is musical in conception through and through. Orsino at the outset strikes its emotional keynote. In doing so he lays bare the mind of the noble dilettante, the luxuriating lover; that mind is "a very opal." He calls again for the strain that has a "dying fall"—a lingering cadence, enhanced probably by a diminuendo. Old Gaunt, before him, talks of the compelling sweetness of "music at the close." No cadences can be more beautiful than the best Elizabethan examples. But Orsino plays with music as he plays with love. His mind is too languid to treat as a living thing the art he professes to adore. To him, a song is beautiful when it is "old and plain" and he can take it in without trouble. To such a man the living art of his day is always too uncomfortably "modern," too "brisk and giddy-paced" for his comprehension. The underplot of *Twelfth Night* is in musical accord with the main story. The characters in the latter brood and luxuriate to music, or, like Viola, find heart-satisfying meanings in it; but it is in the revelling scene of the two knights that the Clown, music's mouthpiece, sings the most perfect lyric of all, bright yet poignant with the sense of the vanishing of youth. The uproariousness of this scene, the bawling of the catch, the guying of Robert Jones's song "Farewell, dear heart" are somehow not mere riot and foolery. They are a

protest ; a surge of the spirit of life against the languor of the main story, and against the melancholy and poignancy of the more serious lyrics. They are that, surely, more than they are the protest of "cakes and ale" against Puritanism. And the protest is a vain one. For life passes, beauty passes ; the deepest notes of this play ring with their passing.

The bitter, tragic days came ; we find naturally less music in this period, but what there is is significant. In a lyric, here and there, the pathos of a whole work is distilled, as in "Take, O take those lips away." In this song of broken vows and vanished joys the lowering clouds of *Measure for Measure* break for an instant in rain. The "Willow" song in *Othello*, traditional in music and partly so in words, has a significance at least threefold. As a folk-song, it echoes griefs from past ages ; it distils the heartbreak of Desdemona ; and, occurring where it does, it strikes an appalling note of coming catastrophe, which Verdi, in his opera, well knew how to translate and develop in terms of his own art. We have touched on Hamlet's amateur interest in music, an interest quite in the vein of the Elizabethan gentleman. At the climax of the play-scene, his excitement finds vent in random ballad-tags ; Ophelia's mental distraction, later on, finds a similar outlet. This prepares us for the chief function of music in *King Lear*. We give the word a strange, sorry sense, but we think a legitimate one, in making it cover the ballad-snatches of the Fool and the feigned madman Edgar. For the Fool's cutting and whimsical tags, flicking the King's mind with vain appeals to reason, and the wilder tags of Edgar, smacking more of folk-ballad and mother Earth, form one strand in a terrible sound-web of many voices, let loose as the bleak winds begin to ruffle, and the thunder smites the heath. The symphony of distraction reaches its height, the external noises and the tempest in the King's mind acting and reacting on each other. At length the storm passes, and to "soft music playing" Lear recognises Cordelia. Here is a supreme instance of the healing function of the art in Shakespeare. The soft music, by the way, is purely instrumental. Singing, shouting voices have for three long acts been workers of distraction. Voices of any kind would be hardly tolerable. Stringed instruments, or perhaps recorders, with their quiet wood-notes, help to play the King back to a childish, comparative sanity.

The fierce imaginative energy of *Macbeth* gives an exceptional

vividness to its sound-impressions. We recall the storm on the night of Duncan's murder, the voices heard by Macbeth as he leaves the King's chamber, the knocking at the gate, the alarm of the rung bell. This last impression, which has a parallel in *Othello*, leads us to think of other allusions to bells in Shakespeare. All the more remarkable references have fateful associations. There are the eerie night-sounds in *Lucrece*, as Tarquin "moves toward his design"; and the strange simile :—

> "For sorrow, like a heavy hanging bell,
> Once set on ringing, with his own weight goes:"

there is the allusion to the midnight bell in King John's murderous instructions to Hubert, there is the "surly sullen bell" of Sonnet LXXI, and the supreme intensity of the sound-pictures in Macbeth's "dagger" speech, where Tarquin is again mentioned. We seem to trace some old impression of fear and fatality, associated with bells; one which lay for many years at the back of the poet's mind.

As the clouds of tragedy lift, in Shakespeare's last period, music begins to point him to the realisation of his youthful vision in *The Merchant of Venice;* the dream of a pervading, controlling harmony in the whole scheme of things. We find a hint of this in the authentic portions of *Pericles*. In the storm scene in the Third Act, tragic human fate is framed in elemental confusion as in *Lear*, but no discord comes from the mortals. Pericles is the guiltless plaything of fate, as he says his lament over his queen Thaïsa, and she is cast "scarcely coffin'd in the ooze." The elements, at the height of their fury, play enthralling word-music, above all in that impression, so piercingly apt, of the seaman's whistle, which is "as a whisper in the ears of death, unheard." In Pericles' own lament, too, anguish passes finally into still music, gentle as the sea-depths :—

> "And humming water shall o'erwhelm thy corse,
> Lying with simple shells."

In the final scene, where at last Fortune smiles on him and he realises that he has found his lost daughter Marina, he calls out suddenly that he can hear "the music of the spheres." The idea is thrown crudely at us; his hearers plausibly think him a little mad; they humour him, and he falls asleep. But the hint, crude as it is, prepares us for a fuller development of the conception in *The Tempest*, the most musically conceived of all the plays.

The remoteness of this work from human conditions makes it less movingly and poignantly musical than *Twelfth Night*. All the nearer, for that very reason, does Shakespeare come to hinting at a cosmic function for the art. As Dr. Richard Moulton has pointed out, music has a part in every one of the scenes of enchantment in the play. "Its movement," he writes, "is the unfolding of a supernatural scheme of providential government." Music is one of the chief instruments of this government. It is the natural language—as natural as speech itself—of the spirit Ariel, the chief servant of Prospero, who is the overruling Providence of the play. In Prospero's godlike scheme, music works to beneficent ends. It casts over sorrow a calm deep as the sea. In the lines we have quoted from *Pericles*, the hum of water alone sounds over the drowned Thaïsa; but Ferdinand in *The Tempest* hears a voice in the air, singing of the "sea-change" of the father he thinks drowned. Mysteriously, the songs of Ariel comfort him:—

> "This music crept by me upon the waters,
> Allaying both their fury and my passion
> With its sweet air."

The tremendous appearance of Ariel to his master's enemies (III. 3) depends for external effect on scenic contrivances. Though music, first "solemn and strange" and then mockingly soft, has its part in the scene of the airy banquet, the poetic essence of the whole vision is concentrated in Alonso's words:—

> "O, it is monstrous! monstrous!
> Methought the billows spoke and told me of it;
> The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder,
> That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd
> The name of Prosper: it did bass my trespass."

Here the elemental sound-impressions are enhanced by a splendidly-conceived musical figure that shows us the speaker fearfully plumbing the depths of his guilt. Music in this scene is both actually and figuratively an instrument of retribution. Space would fail us to show its other functions in the beneficent, forgiving scheme worked out in his little cosmos of an island by a man who has won the power of a god. Shakespeare, in Sir Walter Raleigh's words "a passionate friend to order," has at last realised his vision of music as the symbol of an ordered harmony in the moral and spiritual worlds.

But that is not all. If music in this play is a controlled agent, yet

it is free. Voices and "twangling instruments" strike capriciously from the air; the most musical speech in our language is put into the mouth of a savage. The freest of all the arts declines to be permanently bound. And it is folly to bind down its treatment by the greatest of poets to an ordered scheme of any kind. Ariel was at last set free. As the beautiful, moody, high-mettled spirit goes to haunt the cowslip's bell, we may think him the spirit of music in its unfettered, primal form, before it was caught by the schools, or made to minister to human emotions. Shakespeare knew that spirit; its breath touched him when his songs got nearest to music's own essence. Meredith, too, felt the beat of its wings as he sang:—

"That was the chirp of Ariel
You heard, as overhead it flew;
The farther going, more to dwell,
And wing our green to wed our blue;
But whether note of joy or knell
Not his own Father-singer knew,
Nor yet can any mortal tell;
Save only how it shivers through
The breast of us, a sounded shell,
The blood of us, a lighted dew."

A LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR CHARLES EDWYN VAUGHAN (BORN, AT LEICESTER, 10 FEBRUARY, 1854; DIED, AT MANCHESTER, 8 OCTOBER, 1922).

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

A LIST of Vaughan's writings is a very inadequate tribute to his memory; for he was greater than they. As the bulkiest of them are scholarly contributions to learning, they do, of course, reveal the quality of his mind; but they provide only hints of the other elements so richly mixed in him. His shorter and less formal writings, however, give fuller play to more temperamental features. And so in a way, the natural bent and the full-grown manner of the man may be discerned in a survey of the scholar's books. There is the rhetorical sweep, the broadest generalisation, the widest denunciation: but there is, too, the habitual scruple in the act of judgment, which came to him as much from instinctive honesty as from critical training. There is the passion for the speculative ideal; but it is disciplined by a fervid awareness of brave sublunary things. There is the underlying sense of rigid justice; but it is tempered by an overflowing stream of human kindness. And neither side of these potentially conflicting attributes is more Vaughan than the other.

His qualities gained by their complements. His rhetoric never dazzled his intelligence: rather, it illumined remoter regions for further intellectual exploration. The high, dry light of reason was in its turn filtered through those warmer tones, without which it distorts the natural object as does a flash-light portrait. But whilst others more competent must assess the gain to Vaughan's thought from the many-sided humanity of the thinker, the lay philosopher can at least discern the fitness in his finding his most satisfying occupation with political theories. For in no other domain do interests which are

...ES EDWIN VARE ...
1851

abstract and concrete, speculative and practical at once, approach more closely to each other. Nor, surely, is there a speculative field in which the seizing of ultimate truths is more conditioned by grasp of human motive : and in such a venture, Vaughan went twice-armed, for the intuitive revelations which came from his spontaneous sympathies were sharpened and intensified by a life-long intimacy with the noblest poets of Europe's greater ages.

Yet at this time, it is impossible to think of Vaughan as just the thinker or the author. It is the impression of the man which persists. The picture may be the same, but it is ampler, allowing us more easily and frequently to catch the diverse characteristics of which he was compounded. He was transparent, yet elusive ; ascetic, yet hearty ; austere, yet benevolent ; unassuming as a child, yet impressive as a patriarch ; so manifestly extraordinary, yet so palpably normal ; in a word, as various as are the colours of the rainbow, but like them, too, except at momentary glimpses, harmoniously blended in one familiar air. The shy grace of bearing and the inviting benignity of demeanour, with which he charmed the smaller circle of his acquaintance, would in a flash be passionately transfigured to an arresting solemnity of gesture and to a consuming blaze of rapture or of wrath, which were the spell of his wider influence. The simple modesty, which caused him at all times to say nothing of himself, would at moments glow to incandescence through a casual phrase, which thus unconsciously said everything. The voice, usually slow, subdued and deliberate, would on occasion become strepitant with enthusiasm or strident with fury. The placid composure of hours spent largely in solitary retirement moved without strain to the easy sociability of a moorland tramp, to the genial convivality of an intimate dinner-party, and to the eager exhilaration of a fight for things worth fighting for. If at the end, one must, then, think of Vaughan as a recluse, the impression must be corrected by remembering that his last hermitage was pitched within the bustle of a crowded city.

It is the continual need for modifications of this sort which makes one realise the hopelessness of attempting to put Vaughan's features on to paper. One sketches a posture, and sees at once, that, pencilled lamely so, it hides more than it reveals of the figure of the man ; for each trait was distinguished by singular complements. Celt and Saxon came together in him, not in casual contiguity, but struck into

one personality by natural alchemy. His humanity was the active philanthropy of mind and hand, which is more human and not less charitable, when it resents inhumanity and sentimental humanitarianism alike. His humanism, similarly, was not a traditional system and a dogma, but a motive force and a point of view. His scholarship was classical in the oldest and best sense ; but it was the wisdom of the ancient world brought to the needs of the present. Hence, in his professional capacity, from a classical form-master, he became a professor of English literature : and in his private predilection, his province was the mind of Europe during the last two centuries. There was an air of sanctity about the zeal with which Vaughan devoted his life to these studies : and the impression was confirmed by seeing their domination so frequently suspended, or rather sacrificed, at the bidding of more compelling sanctions. For his ideal of service was rooted in a system of the ultimate nature of things. But it was freshly realised from day to day in tireless devotion to the immediate task of the moment ; its hall-mark was its minute susceptibility in detecting the calls of duty when none but the finest ears could catch a sound. Such exacting loyalty as this may have limited the scope of his activities : it took from him, for instance, the time needful to make many books. But it gave unmeasurable value to his influence over those whom accident brought within its range : it made him, for instance, a teacher, the like of whom one will not easily meet again.

Nor, perhaps, is it unjust to think of Vaughan as realising himself most completely as a teacher, and most of all, as a teacher of English literature in a modern University. There the range of his endowments had fullest scope. Every occasion found him its ideal minister : the casual friendly chat with a pupil in difficulties ; the breezy seriousness of a small study circle ; the thrill of a lecture to a larger class—rhapsodies on Parnassus, as we, his pupils, used to call them. They were lectures as incapable of description as of imitation. They were extempore, and passed imperceptibly from sudden question shot at front row and at back row, through penetrating analysis and summary apophthegm, to passages of sustained eloquence of a temper all his own. They compelled keen thinking, and they thrilled with inspiriting enthusiasm. At times the gesture might appear a mannerism, and the attitude theatrical : but that can hardly be its name, for it came spontaneously, and was never reproduced. Even the traditional wit-

ticisms were not the stock jokes of the University tradesmen, but shafts winged at the moment as some modern instance of an ancient saw was suddenly perceived. What wonder that his pupils loved him? and loved, rather than worshipped, is the better word; it gives the right sense of mingled reverence and admiration, and avoids the implication of remote aloofness in their object. For Vaughan never sat above, wrapped in academic splendour, exhaling clouds of higher mysteries which hide the summits from the view; he strode on ahead, guide and vigorous partner, in a bracing venture up the mountain side.

Obviously, a lively expedition of this sort has lost much of its vital thrill when it has become mere words on a printed page. That is why Vaughan's books are only a part of the man. He did not write easily. Even in a physical sense, the pen moved slowly and laboriously; the script had a quaint distinction which suggested the coming together of Greek and Teutonic, without an intervening Italic. He composed much more freely on the rostrum, warmed by the sympathetic stimulus of an audience. His style was essentially oratorical. Many of the items recorded below are, in fact, reports of addresses, printed, too, not infrequently, in the exact form in which they were extemporarily shaped. Literary composition of the regular sort was less congenial to him. Pen in hand, he was retarded by a meticulous sense of form, how exquisite, those of us who have submitted writings to him well know. He was even more impeded by his rigorous standard of historic exactitude and of personal honesty: on one occasion, he read again some eight volumes of a French philosopher, to find conviction for retaining a rather depreciatory epithet which he had provisionally attached to that author's writings.

Yet, despite all this, Vaughan's literary works are in themselves a great achievement. In the mass, they fall into a striking unity, and, piece by piece, they represent a remarkable continuity of interest. Whether in the way of prefatory paragraph, magazine article, school-edition, casual lecture or lengthy treatise, whether nominally on politics, poetry, drama or novel, their concern is with the attempt of the better minds to illustrate and to probe the problems of corporate life in the modern world. They lead naturally to the *magnum opus*, the Political Writings of Rousseau, the product, literally, of a life-time. Of the material which went to its making, Vaughan wrote in 1895, that it was brought "nearly to completion"; in 1901, he

reported it as in " the last stage of completion," adding that he hoped to send it to the press within twelve months. In effect, it was to occupy him continuously for another fourteen years, until at length a part of it was given to the world in the two large volumes issued by the Cambridge Press in 1915. There is indeed hope that the rest, the complete history of Political Philosophy during the two centuries prior to 1850, into which Rousseau will fall in middle place, may be sorted from his manuscript remains, and published as a larger rounding off of his life's work.

In the face of such an output, a foregoing remark that Vaughan's writings are an inadequate representation of the man, may well seem absurd. It was inspired by the feeling that books are after all, relatively dead things, relatively, that is, to the living personality of the author, when that author is such a man as was Vaughan. And if further extenuation be needed, let it be that the writer of these lines was a pupil of Vaughan's, and is still under the spell of his presence.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

(Titles recorded in the following list have been exactly transcribed, except in the matter of the form of the author's name and the titular descriptions attached thereto. For this, a uniform phrase has been adopted, "by C. E. V. . . ." Attention is drawn to such of the articles as are unsigned or signed pseudonymously.)

A. INDEPENDENT WORKS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

1. **Selections from Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.** (Edited.) With Introduction and Notes by C. E. V. . . . *Rivingtons*, 1892 (*reprinted* 1893, *and* 1906).

   The editorial matter consists of an *Introduction*, pp. vii-xiv, *Analysis*, pp. xv-xvi, and *Notes*, pp. 125-144.

2. **Burke's Speeches on America.** (Edited.) With Introduction and Notes by C. E. V. . . . *Rivingtons*, 1893 (*reprinted* in 1898, 1904, 1907, 1914).

   The editorial matter consists of an *Introduction*, pp. vii-xx, *Analysis*, pp. xxi-xxii, and *Notes*, pp. 121-154. C. E. V. acted as general editor to the series of which no. 1 and no. 2 are a part. This and the foregoing item, although professedly for use in schools, have a substantive value in themselves, and are steps on the way to the author's Rousseau : even the Notes are not infrequently succinct paragraphs of his political scholarship. Vaughan had been schoolmaster at Clifton from 1878 to 1888, and then for a very short time at Rugby. He felt very keenly the need for such radical alterations in the curriculum of secondary and public schools as would make the modern world, its history, languages, and literature, their main occupation on the Arts side. In a lengthy paper, still in MS., and written about 1919, he draws up a very serious indictment against the traditional classical education, all the more telling when we remember that he took a First in Classical Moderations (1874), a First in Litterae Humaniores (1877), was twice bracketed Jenkyns Exhibitioner (1876, 1877), and then taught Classics for ten years. It is very probable that the British Institute of Adult Education will shortly publish a lecture he gave, at its invitation, in Manchester in March, 1922, on *The Place of Modern Languages in Adult Education*.

3. **The Duchess of Malfi.** A Play written by John Webster. Edited with a Preface, Notes and Glossary by C. E. V. . . . *Dent* (Temple Dramatists), 1896 (*reprinted* 1900, 1907, 1913, 1919).

The *Preface* occupies pp. v-xv, and throws new light on the source of the play.

4. **English Literary Criticism.** With an Introduction by C. E. V. . . . *Blackie & Son*, 1896. (This is a volume in the series, the Warwick Library of English Literature, of which C. H. Herford was general editor.) Pp. cii, 219 (*reprinted* 1901, 1903, 1905, 1911, 1912).

Pp. ix-cii are an introductory essay on the development of English Literary Criticism: this remains at once the best general introduction to the problems in the subject as a whole, and the best summary estimate of their relative values. Pp. 1-219 reprint briefly annotated texts from Sidney, Dryden, Johnson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Lamb, Shelley, Carlyle and Pater.

5. **Areopagitica and other Tracts.** By John Milton. (Edited by C. E. V. . . .) *Dent* (Temple Classics), 1900, 1907.

Besides the *Areopagitica*, this contains the *Letter on Education*, and *Autobiographical Extracts* from four other tracts. The editorial matter consists of *Notes*, pp. 135-147, an introductory note to the *Letter*, pp. 70-71, and a longer one to the *Areopagitica*, pp. 148-155. One of Vaughan's most impressive lectures to his pupils at Leeds was on the *Areopagitica* and Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* as documents in the history of political and religious toleration.

6. **The Romantic Revolt.** By C. E. V. . . . *Blackwood & Sons*, 1907 (*reprinted* 1923). (This is a volume in the series, Epochs of European Literature, of which G. Saintsbury was general editor.) Pp. vii and 507.

This is a very characteristic survey of European literature from the death of Rousseau and of Voltaire in 1778 to the death of Schiller in 1805. Except for what concerns Russian, it was based throughout on original sources, and is particularly noteworthy for the German section.

7. **Types of Tragic Drama.** By C. E. V. . . . *Macmillan*, 1908. Pp. viii and 275.

A reproduction, more or less faithful, of a course of lectures on Tragedy from Aeschylus to Ibsen, delivered to a general audience in the Leeds University during the winter of 1906. Each lecture was written out within a week after delivery. The volume is probably the best illustration of the critical method and the expository manner of Vaughan as a teacher of literature.

8. **The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau.** Edited from the original manuscripts and authentic editions. With Introductions and Notes. By C. E. V. . . . *Cambridge University Press*, 1915. 2 Vols. Pp. xxii, 516 and viii, 578.

The following details will indicate the extent of Vaughan's own writing in the two volumes. Besides a general introductory essay on *Rousseau as a Political Philosopher* (vol. 1, pp. 1-117), each separate work contained in the collection has an introduction and a full critical apparatus of its own. Thus in vol. 1, the introduction to the *Discours sur l'inégalité* consists of pp. 118-123: that to *L'économie politique*, pp. 228-236: that to *L'état de guerre*, pp. 281-292: that to *La paix perpetuelle*, pp. 359-363: that to *Diderot's Droit naturel*, pp. 423-428: and that to the *First Draft* of the *Contrat social*, pp. 434-445. In vol. 2, the introduction

to the *Final Draft* of the *Contrat social* occupies pp. 1-20 : that to the *Passages illustrating the Contrat*, pp. 137-142 : that to the *Lettres de la Montagne*, pp. 173-196 : that to the *Projet . . . de la Corse*, pp. 292-305 : that to the *Considerations sur . . . Pologne*, pp. 369-409 : then follows an *Epilogue*, pp. 517-526, whilst an *Appendix II* reprints a large part of a previously published lecture, *Rousseau and his Enemies*, which is recorded below (No. 11).

9. **A Lasting Peace through the Federation of Europe, and the State of War, by Jean Jaques Rousseau.** Translated by C. E. V. . . . *Constable*, 1917. Pp. 128.

This translation of Rousseau's two treatises has an *Introduction*, pp. 5-35, written in the early summer of 1916, pointing out the bearing of Rousseau's thought on the state of Europe in that year.

10. **Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique: Jean Jacques Rousseau.** Edited by C. E. V. . . . *Manchester University Press*, 1918.

Of the editorial matter, the *Introduction* occupies pp. xi-lxxvi, and the *Notes* and an *Appendix*, pp. 125-178. One of the many services Vaughan rendered to Manchester University was as active member of its Press Committee. Although he had retired from the Chair at Leeds partly from ill-health, during the war-years he freely gave his strength and time to help the Universities in emergencies. After a year spent in a Government office, which played havoc with his health, he filled gaps in the English Departments at Liverpool during one winter, and at Leeds during another. But Manchester University benefited most largely. During 1919-20, he voluntarily gave two full courses of lectures in the English Department : the next session, he accepted an appointment as Special Lecturer in that department : and in 1921-22, again voluntarily, he held regular conferences with a group of students who were preparing theses on politico-literary topics. The University conferred upon him its Doctorate of Letters, *honoris causa*, in 1919.

B. INDEPENDENT ARTICLES, PUBLISHED SEPARATELY OR IN COLLABORATED VOLUMES.

I. Published Separately :—

11. **Rousseau and His Enemies.** Being the substance of a Lecture delivered before the Philosophical and Literary Society of Leeds on 7 February, 1911. *R. Jackson, Leeds, n.d.* (1911). Pp. 32.

A large part of this is reprinted as an Appendix to Vol. 2, of *Rousseau's Political Writings* (no. 8 above). It exposes the worthlessness of Diderot's and Grimm's evidence against Rousseau's character. A preliminary note by C. E. V. allows us to see a congenial way in which he made his books : "I desire to express my sincere thanks to the President and Council of the Society, for having kindly secured the services of a highly skilled Reporter on this occasion."

12. **The Influence of English Poetry upon the Romantic Revival on the Continent.** By C. E. V. . . . British Academy Warton Lecture IV. *Oxford University Press*, 1914. Pp. 18.

This is reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. VI, *Oxford Press*, 1914. The Lecture was delivered before the Academy on 29 October, 1913, and, as was his custom, was given without notes of any sort.

13. **Bibliographies of Swinburne, Morris and Rossetti.** By C. E. V. . . . English Association Pamphlet, No. 29, December, 1914. Pp. 12.

Vaughan served on the General Committee of the English Association, was President of the Yorkshire Branch of it (1908-1911), and frequently lectured to other northern

branches. Reports, longer and shorter, of some of these lectures will be found in the Bulletin of the English Association as under :

No. 8, June, 1909, p. 4, **English Prose Literature and its place in Teaching,** a lecture given at Leeds, 9 March, 1909.

No. 10, Feb., 1910, p. 40, **Recent Views of Shakespeare,** a lecture given at Newcastle, 15 Oct., 1909.

No. 16, Feb. 1912, p. 30, **Wordsworth and the French Revolution,** a lecture given at Newcastle, 27 Oct., 1911.

No. 23, June, 1914, p. 29, **The Edinburgh Review and its Victims,** a lecture given at Manchester, 6 March, 1914.

No. 33, Dec. 1917, p. 17, **The Debt of England to France,** a lecture given at Manchester, 19 Oct., 1917.

He also lectured at Manchester under the same auspices 26 April, 1912, on Elizabethan Drama and Foreign Politics, but apparently no report was sent to the Bulletin.

14. **Giambattista Vico : an Eighteenth Century Pioneer.** By C. E. V. . . . *Manchester University Press, for the John Rylands Library*, 1921. Pp. 22.

This is a reprint, from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 6, No. 3, July 1921, of a lecture delivered at the Library on 9 March, 1921. C. E. V. was a Governor of the Library from 1915 to his death.

II. Contributed to collaborated volumes :—

15. *To* THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, *Hodder and Stoughton :*

Vol. 77, January 1883, pp. 71-97 : **Victor Hugo,** by C. E. V. . . .

Vol. 80, July 1884, pp. 1-27 : **Mr. Browning,** by C. E. V. . . .

These articles may easily escape attention, since, although they are signed, they have curiously slipped from the Index appended to the *Review*, and are consequently omitted from the list of authors in Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*. Other of Vaughan's writings on Browning are noted below. The Hugo article follows the main motives of his work as dramatist, poet, novelist and public man. Hugo was one of Vaughan's earliest idols and one of his lasting passions. As a school-boy, he had addressed a letter of homage to him, and set great store on the reply it brought. And one of the present writer's last memories of Vaughan is of his declaiming one of the political hymns to the Derbyshire hills.

16. *To* THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY :—

Vol. 58, 1899. **Charles John Vaughan** (1816-97), by C. E. V. . . .

This is a three-column life of his uncle, who was Headmaster of Harrow, Master of the Temple, and Dean of Llandaff.

17. *To* THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY :—

Vol. VI, 1909. Chap. xxiv. **The Romantic Movement in European Literature,** by C. E. V. . . . Pp. 822-837.

18. *To* THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE :—

Vol. VI, 1910. Chap. vi. **Tourneur and Webster,** by C. E. V. . . . Pp. 166-187.

Vol. X, 1913. Chap. iii. **Sterne and the Novel of his Times,** by C. E. V. . . . Pp. 46-66.

Vol. XI, 1914. Chap. vi. **Coleridge,** by C. E. V. . . . Pp. 117-139.

Vaughan's scepticism as to the worth of a history of Literature of such composite structure as the above, did not detract from the value of his own contributions. Their brevity throws into high light his power of disentangling the essential from its massed encumbrances, and his genius for summary appraisement.

19. *To* ESSAYS AND STUDIES by Members of the English Association, *Oxford Press* :—

Vol. I, 1910, pp. 168-196. **Carlyle and His German Masters**, by C. E. V. . . .

20. *To* TRANSACTIONS OF THE YORKSHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY, *Byles and Sons, Bradford* :—

Vol. II, Pt. 12, January 1911, pp. 20-38, **Echoes of Old English Rhythm in Modern English Poetry.**

This is a lecture delivered to the Society at Leeds, 31 October, 1910. Its main thesis is indicated by a paragraph towards the end : "the theory which would build blank verse of feet, in any sense approaching to strictness, starts with everything in its favour : it is consistent, it is logical, it can claim historical probability ; the one thing wanting to it . . . is that it does not tally with the facts."

21. *To* THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, *Cambridge University Press* :—

Vol. 6, 1911, pp. 225-230, Review, by C. E. V. . . . of A. C. Bradley's Oxford Lectures on Poetry.

Vol. 11, 1916, pp. 482-496, Review, by C. E. V. . . . of G. M. Harper's William Wordsworth : His Life, Works and Influence.

The review of Harper's volume is one of Vaughan's most characteristic writings. He seldom reviewed books : he said it was liable to breed detestable intellectual habits. But the review in question is as much an independent article as a review.

22. *To* CHARLOTTE BRONTE, 1816-1916 : A CENTENARY MEMORIAL prepared by the Bronte Society, edited by Butler Wood, F.R.S.L., with a Foreword by Mrs. Humphry Ward. *Fisher Unwin*, 1917 (and twice reprinted in 1918) : pp. 173-206, **Charlotte and Emily Bronte : a comparison and a contrast**, by C. E. V. . . .

This is a skilled reporter's account of an address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Bronte Society, held at Keighley on 20 January, 1912. The editor writes that it "required almost no editing." (It gives a very good impression of Vaughan's style of lecturing to a popular audience.) It had been previously printed in Bronte Society Publications, Part 22, Transactions, Vol. 4, pp. 217-235. In the copy of this in the Vaughan collection in the Library of the Leeds University are a few proof corrections in his hand.

C. BRIEFER AND MORE FUGITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAGAZINES.

23. *To* THE MARLBURIAN :—

Vol. VII, No. 121, 13 Nov., 1872, **Thomas de Quincey**, by **"Volpone."**

This article, which runs to two and a half pages, is certainly by Vaughan. It is, however, impossible to detect as his any other contribution, as they were usually either without signature or with a pseudonymous one. Major Davenport, who has generously searched the file for me, adds that in Vol. VII, No. 111, 24 April, 1872, there is a two-page article, *Poetry of the Century*, which, being signed "V," may or may not, be Vaughan's. He was a pupil at Marlborough from Feb. 1867 to Midsummer, 1873.

24. *To* THE OMNIUM :—

No. 15 July, 1878, pp. 21-22, "**What might have been,**" by "**Sampson.**"

Nothing in this article precludes our giving it to Vaughan ; but the only reason for assuming that it is his, is the discovery amongst his papers of a copy of it with many corrections in his hand.

25. *To* THE OXFORD MAGAZINE :—

No. 6. February, 1884, p. 62, Review, by C. E. V. . . ., of Professor T. H. Green's Two Lay Sermons.

The review occupies a little more than a column, and although only signed "V." is known to be by C. E. V. who was T. H. Green's cousin. Vaughan was at Balliol from 1873 to 1877, leaving the University five years before the *Oxford Magazine* was founded.

26. *To* THE NATIONAL HOME-READING UNION MAGAZINE, SPECIAL COURSES SECTION :—

Vol. 2, No. 1. Oct., 1891, **On the Study of Literature, I,** pp. 3-4.
No. 2. Nov., 1891, **On the Study of Literature, II,** pp. 18-19.
Vol. 5, No. 1. Oct., 1893, **English Literature, Modern, Introductory,** pp. 6-8.
No. 4. Jan., 1894, **Romola, I,** pp. 85-86.
No. 5. Feb., 1894, **Romola, II,** pp. 105-109.
No. 6. Mar., 1894, **Carlyle, Lectures on Heroes,** pp. 128-130.
Vol. 6, No. 1. Oct., 1894, **The Elizabethans,** pp. 6-8.
No. 2. Nov., 1894, **Marlowe's Dr. Faustus,** pp. 31-33.
No. 6. Mar., 1895, **The Love Poems of Browning,** pp. 149-152.
Vol. 7, No. 1. Oct., 1895, **Milton's Areopagitica,** pp. 7-9.
No. 9. June, 1896, **Burke's Speeches on America** pp. 208-210.
Vol. 8, No. 1. Oct., 1896, **Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution,** pp. 4-7.
No. 2. Nov., 1896, **Browning's The Ring and the Book,** pp. 36-39.
No. 3. Dec., 1896, **Marlowe's Dr. Faustus,** pp. 72-73.
Vol. 10, No. 1. Oct., 1898, **English Literature to 1688,** pp. 6-8.
No. 2. Nov., 1898, **Marlowe's Dr. Faustus,** pp. 31-33.
No. 6. Mar., 1899, **Browning's Luria,** pp. 156-160.
No. 9. June, 1899, **Browning's In a Balcony,** pp. 247-249.
Vol. 11, No. 1. Oct., 1899, **Browning's Karshish,** pp. 10-13.
No. 6. Mar., 1900, **Browning's Abt Vogler and A Grammarian's Funeral,** pp. 156-158.
Vol. 12, No. 4. Jan., 1901, **Carlyle's Lectures on Heroes,** pp. 86-88.
No. 8. May, 1901, **Eliot's Romola,** pp. 199-202.
Vol. 13, No. 6. Mar., 1902, **Browning's Red Cotton Night-Cap Country,** pp. 151-153.
No. 7. April, 1902, **Browning's The Inn Album,** pp. 175-178.
Vol. 14, No. 1. Oct., 1902, **Mystery and Miracle Plays,** pp. 34-37.
No. 2. Nov., 1902, **Marlowe,** pp. 72-74, *and* **The Style of Browning's The Ring and the Book,** pp. 74-77.

All the above articles are signed. There is also in the *General Course Section* of the Magazine (issued independently of the *Special Section*) a signed article by Vaughan on **Carlyle's Heroes** (Vol. 25, No. 2, 1913). The Union also issued a little book called **Notes to the Pocket Volume of Selections from the Poems of Robert Browning,** by Alex. Hill . . . with **Essays on Several Aspects of Browning's Genius** by C. E. V., etc., etc. *Published by the National Home-reading Union,* 1897, pp. 158. Vaughan's essays in this compilation are **Browning's Relation to other Poets of the Century,** pp. 13-16, and **The Love Poems of Browning,** pp. 73-79. Vaughan had shown active interest in the work of the Union ; he was chairman of the Council of the Cardiff Branch of it. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that all he did and wrote for it were gratuitous contributions to the cause it represented.

27. *To* THE MAGAZINE OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE :—

Vol. 2, No. 1, Nov., 1889, **The Great Cryptogram**, pp. 18-21.

This is a satirical addition to Donnelly's cryptogram, proving Bacon's authorship of Twelfth Night.

Vol. 4, No. 1, 1891, **To Yonge Clerkes : ballade de mal conseyl**, p. 71.

Humorous verse in the manner of Chaucer.

Vol. 6, No. 3, June, 1894, **A Sketch of Dean Vaughan**, pp. 1-6.

An unsigned article, but certainly by Vaughan, on his uncle, then newly elected President of the College.

Vol. 8, No. 1, Dec., 1895, **The Episcopal Judas**, p. 16.

A verse satire on the Church Union's attack on the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Percival, who had been Vaughan's head at Clifton. It is not signed but is almost certainly Vaughan's.

Vol. 8, No. 2, March, 1896, **A Sketch of Principal Viriamu Jones**, pp. 41-44.

Also unsigned but identified as Vaughan's.

Vol. 10, No. 1, Dec., 1897, **A Memorial Notice of Dean Vaughan**, pp 1-2.

Again unsigned, but believed to be by Vaughan : his account of Dean Vaughan in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is entered above, No. 16.

Vol. 11, No. 4, 1899, **Balliol Five and Twenty Years Ago**, pp. 137-145.

Vol. 13, No. 2, Dec., 1900, **Shakespeare as a Man**, pp. 57-62.

This is the report of a lecture which Vaughan gave to the Literary and Debating Society of the College on 11 Dec., 1900, that is, after his migration to Newcastle. Echoes of the welcome he received on the occasion of this visit to Cardiff will be found on pp. 75 and 85 of this same number.

Vol. 13, No. 5, June, 1901, **A Memorial Notice of Viriamu Jones**, pp. 193-197.

This is signed C. V.

Vol. 15, No. 3, Feb., 1903, **A Sketch of Professor Little**, pp. 87-89.

This is signed C. V., and was written on the retirement of Professor Little from his Chair at Cardiff.

Vol. 7 New Series, 1909, **Recollections (of University College, Cardiff)**, pp. 33-35.

Vaughan was Professor of English at Cardiff from 1889 to 1898. He resigned to become Professor at Newcastle (1899 to 1904). The *Magazine* has several records of parts he played in College life at Cardiff. He was President of the Debating Society : a lecture before it on Bismarck is reported, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1889, p. 48 ; another on Pedantry in Vol. 3, 1890, p. 36. A further number (Vol. 11, No. 3, Feb., 1899) has many items relating to him, and arising from his resignation of the Chair. There is a portrait ; there are appreciations by A. G. L. and by A., an account of a presentation made to him by the students, a report of his speech on that occasion, and lastly a few words with which he took leave of his last class at Cardiff. The next number of

the same volume records a further presentation, this time from old students. It may be added here that no articles by Vaughan have been identified in the magazine of Armstrong College (*The Northerner*), nor in that of Manchester University (*The Serpent*).

28. *To* THE GRYPHON :—

Vol. 10, No. 1, Nov., 1906, **Shakespeare in France**, p. 9.

This is but a brief resumé of a lecture delivered before the Literary and Historical Society of the University of Leeds, and so is not one of Vaughan's writings in the same sense as are the other items of this List. Yet as many of them are, though fuller, reports of his speeches a point has been strained to provide opportunity for naming this little thing, and with it, the *Gryphon*, the Magazine of the University in which Vaughan's last professorial years were spent (1904 to 1912). Shortly after his retirement from Leeds, the *Gryphon* printed an appreciation and a cartoon (Vol. 16, No. 5, May, 1913).

D. OCCASIONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS :—

29. *Under* PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURES AND REMAINS OF RICHARD LEWIS NETTLESHIP. Edited with a biographical sketch by A. C. Bradley and G. R. Benson. *Macmillan*, 1897, 2 vols.

In the Preface to the former of these volumes (by A. C. B.) it is stated that the persons jointly responsible for their publication are the editors named on the title-page, and Professor C. E. Vaughan, one of the executors of Nettleship's will. But Vaughan's responsibility was almost entirely legal : there was, however, a project to publish, as further Remains, a set of Notes of Nettleship's lectures on the History of Philosophy, and if this had matured, Vaughan would have been called in for more strictly editorial duties.

30. *Under* THE VAUGHAN WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE, LEICESTER, 1862-1912. Its history and Work for Fifty Years. Edited by the Rev. Edward Atkins. With . . . a **Preface by** C. E. V. . . . *Adams Bros. and Shardlow, London and Leicester.* n.d.

The brief Preface (pp. 3-4) by Vaughan, is dated March, 1912. The volume is a commemorative record of an institution of which Vaughan's uncle, the Rev. David James Vaughan, was founder. The first chapter, pp. 11-28, by C. J. Bilson, and the second, pp. 29-36, by Agnes A. Evans, give some account of the Vaughan family.

31. *Under* TALES OF THE RIDINGS, by F. W. MOORMAN. **With a Memoir of the Author**, by C. E. V. . . . *Elkin Mathews*, 1920.

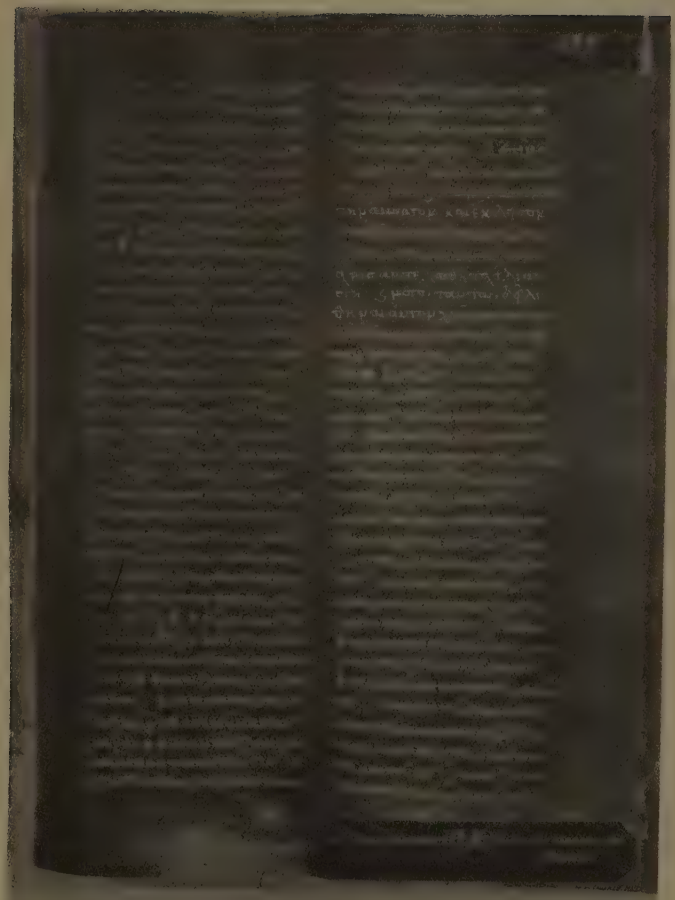
The Memoir of Moorman, who had been Vaughan's colleague in the English Department during the whole of Vaughan's tenure of the Chair at Leeds, and who was tragically drowned on 8 Sept., 1919, fills pp. 7-20. On the whole it is not one of the more satisfying of Vaughan's writings.

32. *Under* FLIGHTS IN FAIRYLAND. By the staff and pupils of Lothian School for Girls, Harrogate. Edited by Jean Miller and Rose E. Speight. **Introductory Remarks** by C. E. V. . . . and Mrs. J. E. Buckrose. *Saville and Co., Gower St.* n.d. (1923.) Pp. 60.

Vaughan's Remarks are four paragraphs, pp. 4-5, written at the request of one of the editors, Miss Speight, who had been a pupil of his at Leeds. Vaughan never saw the book in print ; proofs reached him in the last days of his fatal illness. But it is altogether a fitting circumstance that in this, the last item of the record of his literary works,

the last act, indeed, of his literary life, we should see him stretching out a hand of encouragement and aid to one of the many hundreds of his former pupils, who are, in fact, far more than the books recorded here, his real works.

(A postscript may call attention to Obituary Notices in *The Manchester Guardian*, 9 Oct. 1922, by C. H. H(erford); in *The Yorkshire Post*, 10 Oct., by M. E. S(adler); in the *English Association Bulletin*, No. 47, Jan. 1923, by A. G. Little; in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Jan. 1923, by the Editor; and in *The Gryphon*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2, Nov. 1922, by Professor Rhys Roberts.)



Apoc. 143 (Reduced)

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE—RECENT INVESTIGATIONS.

By H. C. HOSKIER.

III.

Apoc. 143 = Escurial X. 111. 6 (or 111. X. 6) = Greg. 143 [a. 1107]

THIS is to be found referred to in E. Miller's catalogue of the Spanish MSS. (Paris, 1848), p. 397, where, in a volume of 292 pages, it is described as forming part (at fo. 235) of a volume of Miscellanies, being immediately preceded by a life of St. Elias, and succeeded by a life of St. Gregory the Armenian. The MS. is dated 1107, as per the subscription on folio 292 (at the end of the volume) :

ἐτελιώθη ἡ βίβλος αὕτη μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ κ̅ζ̅· ἔτους ϡχῖε ⁝⁝ Γραφῆσα δια χειρὸς λεοντίου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου· ἀμαθοῦς ϛ̀ ἰδιώτου· εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου φιλίππου τοῦ μελιτυροῦ. Οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες ϛ̀ ἀναγινώσκοντες· εὔξασθαι ὑπερ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν κ̅ν̅· ∽

The dear old scribe was weary at the close of his labours, for he subjoins this couplet :

Ὧσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσι πατρίδα βλέπειν.
Οὕτω καὶ οἱ γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλος ·⁚·

Photographed for me by F. E. Manero, of Madrid, in 1913, and collated in 1921. In a rough but clear early hand, the forms of psi and chi being quite ancient. *ν ἐφελκ* is of constant occurrence ; iota postscript entirely absent. It is written in double columns of 35 lines each. There is no catena, and there are no marginal remarks, nor divisions. There is no subscription, and the inscription is one of the "*ἐν Πάτμῳ*" ones, differing slightly from others. Occupies pp. 235 *verso* to 241 *recto* in the volume. Note the exact library mark, which is often given wrongly.

It has lain "perdu" for many years, but is none the less important for that.

This MS. was entirely unknown to the critics, and is, perhaps, one of the most important in the list.

It stands quite apart from any traditional family groups, and is worthy of our most attentive consideration. I commend it to you very specially.

The text runs to V. 14, and then, without the slightest sign of an omission, continues with chapter XX. 1 to the end. This "saltus" occurs on fo. 239 *recto* col. i., three lines from the bottom (see the accompanying photograph). At first sight it would appear to impair all confidence in the scribe, and nullify any value in the MS. But sufficient remains to interest us very greatly, and possibly to explain the circumstances which led to such unobservant copying, or extraction.

The reading καρχιδων in XXI. 19 gives away the provenance of the original as Coptic (καρχηδων is read by 35-68, 146 and coptic). Other readings prove that the original was a bilingual græco-coptic MS. In olden days, the African monks carried about with them single books of the N.T., and in this case a worn copy, from which the middle portion had possibly dropped out, may have formed the basis for transmission; perhaps one leaf happening to terminate at the end of the fifth chapter, and the next to have on it the beginning of the twentieth chapter.

I rise from collating these eight chapters with a profound sense of having been in the atmosphere and in the presence of the elements of a very ancient text, notwithstanding, the frailty of a scribe who is somewhat crude, but evidently quite honest.[1] And I reach this conclusion without having (as it happens) been able to refer to a single collateral document during the collation.

Upon consulting my ledger of grouped readings, however, my conclusion is abundantly proven, and I find that we are face to face with a situation of deepest interest.

It had struck me, as I collated, that the startling additions, omissions, and substitutions were not mediæval, and had a plausibility which pointed to a possible early edition, before all our stereotyped factors had become recognised as a kind of traditional text.

[1] He describes himself as unlearned and unskilful: "ἀμαθοῦς καὶ ἰδιώτου."

Further examination confirms me in this view. For instance, when the MS. suppresses ἱματίοις in IV. 4, and writes that the four and twenty elders around the throne "were clothed about with white," we pause to wonder whether the original may not have been worded thus, and whether an officious redactor did not very early insert ἱματίοις, thinking ἐν λευκοῖς an insufficient description; whereas the writer of the Apocalypse,[1] describing heavenly things, would be at liberty to chronicle his impressions of the vision in terms not strictly mundane, and the "robes" would be unlike any earthly thing he had ever seen (see III. 4 ἐν λευκοῖς *tantum*). But the reader may say, "you are taking us into a region, foggy with the mists of antiquity, and you are again 'subjective,' whereas we of the modern school claim that we must be 'objective,' and surely some collateral evidence would remain that there is probability as well as plausibility in your conjecture that the omission is well-founded and approaches the long-lost basic text." Very well, I accept your challenge, and remark that, in this first example, chosen at random, our MS. has the very respectable support of the great MS. ℵ, of the extraordinary cursive 130, and of the Patmos codex 178, and now of our wonderful 200. Thus ℵ 130, 143, 178 and 200 stand alone in suggesting this plausible reading!

And ℵ 143 are again quite alone with *aeth* at XXI. 14 in omitting εχον in the description of the wall and the twelve gates. Already, in verse 12, we have been informed that the great and high wall had twelve gates. In verse 14 εχον can be suppressed if we assume that the gates just described in verse 13 formed the *principal part of the wall*. The prominence given in verse 13 to each set of the three great gates on the N., S., E. and W. shows that they were of immense size. However, plausible or not, and ℵ 143 conspire *again* together alone to omit εχον. I call attention to it here because a very subtle but a very important point is involved. I have noticed that when ℵ writes comparative nonsense, other MSS. and versions had difficulties in those same places; this merely means that the common papyrus original, lying far back in the limbo of forgotten times, was faint and difficult to read in those same places. Thus, here at XXI. 14, our

[1] The inscription, quite exceptionally, declares the work to have been that of the *apostle* John, as does the opening verse of chap. I.

MS. 143 writes apparent nonsense of: τρειμελίουσ τρεῖσ for θεμελίους δώδεκα, after suppressing ἔχον. (It is to be noted that in a somewhat similar construction at IV. 7, we again omit εχον with *gigas*. And observe that, without Greek support, at IV. 2, we omit εκειτο with coptic.)

So again at XXI. 4 our MS. 143 has a unique reading of ὅτι ταῦτα for ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα. It makes perfect sense, but has no backing. Observe, however, that ℵ had difficulty here, reading οτι τα προβατα, *Syr* S επι τα προσωπα, and 59 (which is several times with us alone elsewhere) reads οτι τα αρχαια. And even Oecumenius (Apoc. 146) mixes it up, writing something I cannot read. It looks like το επρωτα for οτι τα πρωτα.

Again, as to this faintness in the original parent copy lying back of all, note :—

xx. 4. – και εζησαν 143, supported only by *Aug*, and immediately follows οὗς ἔλευσαν for και εβασιλευσαν, as if something there were illegible in the exemplar. Also at:

ii. 24. τοις εν τοις θυατηροις λοιποις. Changed order. Consult ℵ,

and ii. 26. τα εργα μου αχρειτελους a unique order for αχρι τελους τα εργα μου, the words αχρι τελους are dropped by *Syr* S,

also iv. 3. we write: ομοια ορασει μιαγδινω. *Cf.* 120. Probably also a faint spot in the original.

Again this faintness may be responsible for our reading at :—

xxi. 27 *fin.* βιβλιου for αρνιου where ℵ reads ουρανου,

Again xxii. 3. αναθεμα for καταθεμα or καταναθεμα where ℵ reads καταγμα.

2. *Omissions.*

Continuing, however, with omissions but slightly supported, or new, we observe :—

i. 3/4. ο γαρ ιωαννης ταις επτα εκκλ. (– καιρος εγγυς) with (102)

i. 16. – οξεια with 46-88-101 (of the 1 family) only

ii. 5. ταχει ,, ℵCAP 56, 130, 200 and versions *Oec txt et com* 146), a notably strong conjunction for a very early tradition

ii. 13. – τα εργα σου και with ℵCAP 38, 130 *Oec* (146 *txt*), another notable Greek conjunction, plus *gig harl vg Prim Syr* S.

iv. 7. – *και init.* Alone with 40 (quite a notable MS.) plus *Syr* S. and *Prim.* [Even *Irenaeus*$^{int.}$ has enim]

v. 6. – *και οφθαλμους επτα* with 1 44 61 121 130 (always rather a redundant expression)

xx. 11. – *ὁ ante ουρανος* with 21 39 73 98 *copt.*

xxi. 1. – *ἡ ante θαλασσα* "And there was not any more sea," not "the sea," with 51-90 and *coptic*

xxi. 4. – *ὁ ante θανατος* with ℵ 18, 22, 23, 38, 47, all significant MSS.

xxi. 12. – *και επι τοις πυλωσιν αγγελους δωδεκα* with AE* 62-63, 65, 67, 100, 120, 136, 147 *arm*

xxi. 18. – *αυτης* with 20, 32, 59, 136 *copt.*

xxi. 19. – *κεκοσμημενοι* „ P 92, 111 *arm gig Prim*

xxii. 16. – *ταυτα* „ *Prim* only

All this is anything but modern, so we cannot lightly put aside, although unsupported, such further omissions as the following :—

i. 8. – *λεγει ὁ κυριος* [*Cf. Hipp :* "*ουτως γαρ και ιωαννης ειπεν*" (– *λεγει ο κυριος*)]

i. 10. – *εν πνευματι*

iii. 10. – *της ωρας του πειρασμου* (– *της ωρας copt. Syr* S.)

iv. 8. – *ο θεος*

iv. 9. – *και ευχαριστιαν*

xx. 2. – *και σατανας*

xx. 4. – *και κριμα εδοθη αυτοις*

xxi. 3. – *εκ του ουρανου*

xxi. 5. – *ο καθημενος επι του θρονου.*[1]

A rather pretty distinction is drawn by an omission of the article as between XXI. 22 *fin* and XXI. 23 *fin.*

In the earlier verse our writer says (alone with 100 and 130) : "And I saw no temple in her for the Lord God Omnipotent is her temple and *a* lamb."

In the consequent verse he remarks : "and the city had no need of the sun, nor of the moon, that they should give light to her, for the glory of God shines for her, and her light (is) *the* lamb."

A careful study of the foregoing will pave the way towards our further acquaintance with this recension. There is nothing particularly

[1] This is probably an omission due to the Coptic column, two clauses ending in ⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ there, and, therefore, an error of homoioteleuton, of which there are two or three others, due to the Greek.

careless or offensive about these omissions, nor do they in any way interfere with the flow of the narrative, and they include practically all of the rarer omissions, and may indeed be basic.

3.

Now let us take a couple of *changes of case*:—

At ii. 9 we read ιουδαιων instead of ιουδαιους, which is supported so far by no other cursive before our 143, but is read by ℵ and by C, and is so understood by *aeth* from its parent version. Now attested also by 200 [see article 1]. Read then: "And the blasphemy of those who say that they are *of the* Jews," instead of "those who call themselves Jews."

It is a fine distinction but a distinction all the same, and witnessed to by our oldest uncials. In a version this can be lost, but is, nevertheless, distinctly found impressed in the aethiopic.

At xxi. 15 we read: ειχεν μετρον καλαμου χρυσουν instead of καλαμον. This also has the support of ℵ^{a} 31-106. The fact that ℵ^{a} corrects is rather significant.

And then let us look at a *change of number*:—

At ii. 22 we read: μετανοησει for μετανοησωσιν. This singular for plural is only to be found in 56 (a *most* noteworthy MS.) and *Prim* [*obs. Zahn* against *Sabatier*]. *Cf. copt.* It makes perfect sense: 'Unless *she* repent.'

And then, note this *change of tense*:—

At. iv. 8. εχοντα for ειχον with P 23, 38, 50, and 56, to which add:
xxi. 3. εσκηνωσεν for σκηνωσει with ℵ* 111; but compare *Syr* S. Again perfect sense, but someone may have thought that it did not accord with εσονται and εσται following. The Latins are all recorded for habitabit. An easy change to habitavit would be possible, but the reading is not so far given for the Latin. The reason, however, in 143 is obvious. The Coptic does not say "will tabernacle with," but "is being with," and the word is ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙ. The forerunner of our scribe, while copying his bi-columnar græco-coptic, saw ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲙ in the coptic column, and voluntarily or involuntarily wrote the Greek aorist ἐσκήνωσεν. This *sight* of the Coptic is visible also at
xxi. 4 where 143 (alone) writes ουδε *ter* (*pro* ουτε).

A few *changes of order* have curious and notable support :—

iii. 3. ηκουσας και ειληφας only *Syr* S, and now 143 and 156

xxi. 16. το πλατος αυτης και το υψος ισα εστιν where + αυτης *post* πλατος *sec.* has support from 18, 39 *Syr* S. and *copt*, and the omission of αυτης after υψος is supported by 46 *gig etc.* Together it forms an unique reading yet perfectly legitimate.

4. *Additions.*

All this will prepare us better to consider *the additions*, if we take note of the character of the foregoing perfectly natural and legitimate changes :—

Of additions then observe :—

i. 4. + ουσαις *ante* ενασιηατ with 36 and *latt.*

i. 14. + και *ante* ως χιων. 8-24, 36, 53 and thus exactly the *sahidic* (extant here) ⲃⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲓⲱⲙ retaining και and ως, and *boh* with ⲛⲉⲗⲗ

i. 20. + αι χρυσαι *post* λυχνιαι with 36 (notable MS. of græco-syriac parentage) and *Syr* S.

ii. 10. + γαρ *post* ιδου with 59

ii. 13. + μου *post* ημεραις „ 95

Ibid. + μου *post* πιστος „ CA 14-92, 146

ii. 27. + και συντριψει αυτους *ante* ως τα σκευη with 36 again

iii. 3. + μετανοησης μηδε (*ante* γσησρρηογη). This is read by no Greeks but by *Prim* and the *Coptic*

iv. 8. + το *ante* αγιος So 12 and *Coptic*

v. 3. + ουτε *post* ηδυνατο with 36 and *sah latt* (*exc. gig*).

v. 5. + γαρ *post* ιδου „ 36

xx. 4. + ἴδων *inter* και *tert et* τας ψυχας with 56, 95, 127 (a notable combination) and *sah.*

xx. 6. + ο *ante* αγιος with 32

xx. 10. την καιομενην πυρι *pro* και θειου *Cf.* 32 *copt.* Note also :

xxi. 8. του πυρος *pro* τη καιομενη πυρι και θειω and *cf. copt Tert Hipp.*

xx. 10. + εβληθησαν *post* ο ψευδοπροφητης with 32

11. + του *ante* προσωπου with ℵAP 95, 127, *copt Syr* S.

xxi. 19. + ομοιω *ante* παντι „ 32 (ομοιοι)

xxii. 16. + και ο λογος *post* δαδ „ 32 and 65

xxii. 18. + εγωιωαννηςτυρω α μρ „ *Prim*

xxii. 19. + αυτου *post* πολεως „ *Syr* S.

The above will not seem so extraordinary if weighed in the atmosphere of the early stages of transmission and not attributed too late.

5. *Substitutions.*

As to substitution or the equivalent, observe :—

i. 9. *εν ιῦ pro ιῦ χῦ primo loco* with ℵCP 38, 111 *copt gig Dion.*

Ibid. fin. *ιῦ (– χριστου)* „ ℵCAP *pauc.* and *Dion.*

ii. 1 *fin.* *χρυσίων pro χρυσῶν* So CA only with *χρυσεων*

iii. 3. *ποῖα ὥρα pro ποιαν ωραν* *Cf. copt*

iii. 9. *γνωσονται pro γνωσιν* with 35 (49), 56, 67-120 *vg Syr* S.

iii. 19. *αν pro εαν* with ℵ16, 36, 104, 146 (*Oec.*)

iv. 8. *καθεαυτων pro εν καθεαυτο* *Cf.* 80 *et gig.*

Ibid. *και εν κυκλωθεν pro κυκλοθεν* *Cf.* 18 *et* 56

xx. 3. *αχρισ αν pro αχρι* *Cf.* 119

xx. 11. *μεγα και λευκον* *Cf.* 50 *Prim*

xxi. 2. *Trs. ιδον in loc ante καινην, non post καινην* (*Cf.* 100)

xxi. 8. *εστιν pro εν τη ante λιμνη = Hipp* (*εσται εν τη copt*).

[Here with *Hipp*, we precede the composite Coptic. *Latin* and *Prim* = "pars erit," *Tert* = "particula"?]

xxi. 10. *επι pro επ* (*ante ορος*) with ℵ A 35, 56, 59, 87, 127

xxi. 11. *την φωτιζουσαν αυτην pro εχουσαν την δοξαν του θεου.* So 32. *Cf. sah boh Prim.* (Omit A 30, 35, 98, 104. Original indistinct?)

xxi. 12. *ενγεγραμμενα* with 18

Ibid. *α εισιν* (*pro α εστι*) „ *gig*

xxi. 27. *εγγεγραμενοι* „ 31, 47 (84)

xxii. 2. *εμμεσω* „ A alone.

xxii. 3. *εσται εν αυτη* „ 18 *copt*

xxii. 5. *ετι pro εκει* „ ℵAP 35, 56, 65, 68, 108**, 127, 146 *Copt Prim*

Ibid. *επ αυτους pro αυτους* „ ℵA 18, 35, 68, 127, *gig Prim Anon Ambr.*

xxii. 12. *εσται αυτω* „ 23

xxii. 14. *οι πλυναντες τας στολας αυτων* with 7-45-104 (ℵ A 38, 146, 127)

After weighing the above (especially when we are more closely acquainted with 18, 32, 36 and 56) we shall not be so startled to find at :—

xxi. 17. *ουρανου* (in full) for *ανθρωπου* with 114 alone

This is no late change and may indeed be basic. The additional witness of such a MS. as 143 is most important. The ordinary text says that he measured the wall of the new Jerusalem, 144 *πηχῶν*, "the measure of a man, that is of an angel." This seems strange, and the more likely reading, "a heavenly measure, the measure of an angel," *in contrast to* the earthly number 666 at XIII. 18 *fin.* "for it is human numeration, and his number is 666."

In early script *ουνου* may have been misread *ανου*, and perpetuated. At any rate this witness of ours is no xi, or xiith century fakir, as the previous lists have shown, and this reading is *co-æval* with the regular reading *ανθρωπου*. That is all we are concerned to show.

6. *Unique Readings.*

We can now proceed to consider the few remaining unique readings with the greater confidence of not attributing them to vicious or late handling :—

i. 3. + *ει post μακαριος*
i. 5. *μαρτυς pro αρχων*
i. 9. *επικαλουμενη pro καλουμενη* (*Lat.* "appellatur")
ii. 14. *ἐμβαλεῖν pro βαλεῖν*
xxi. 10. *ηνεγκεν pro απηνεγκε*
i. 11. *περκαμον pro περγαμον* (Interchange of kappa and gamma is *Coptic*)
i. 15. *πλῆθουσ λαλοῦ pro υδατων πολλων*
ii. 10. + *μεγαλην post θλιψιν*
ii. 15. *ο κρατων pro συ κρατουντας* [*Cf.* 36 – *και συ. Cf.* 62-63 *et Oec* (146) *κρατοῦντα*]
ii. 16. *μετα σου pro μεταυτων cum Prim solo*
ii. 22. *αυτην pro μετ' αυτης.* A rather notable reading: *και τους μοιχευοντας αυτην* for *μετ' αυτης*

The latter (and the usual) reading would be a more probable change from an *αυτην* of the original draft than the inverse alteration.

iv. 8. *αλλα παυτοτε pro ημερας και νυκτος.* There is no trace of this in others except in *Tertullian* orat. "non cesset" . . .

v. 5. + *απεκριθη post και prim* [*sed λεγει μοι, non λεγων μοι*]. *Cf. Coptic et Hier.* These say "He came to me."

v. 9. γλῶτγης *pro* γλωσσης [Thus throughout the Meteora MSS. 200 and 201 double τ is always written τγ]

xx. 4. επ αυτοις *pro* επ αυτους

xx. 10. + εκει *post* βασανισθησονται

xxi. 12. + τα ονοματα *post* ισραηλ (*pleno*)

xxi. 18. ἔνδωσις *pro* ενδομησις

xxi. 19. ασμαραγδος (*copt* ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲣⲁⲕⲇⲟⲥ). *Cf. Syr*

[In this connection observe Coptic interchange of ⲕ for ⲅ, which throws light on our scribe's unique περκαμον for περγαμον above.]

xxii. 1. κρυσταλλοσ Not Greek but *sah* and many *boh* MSS.

xxii. 3. ἀνάθεμα *pro* καταναθεμα

7 *init.* + λεγει κυριος *post* ταχυ

8. ακουων και βλεπων ταυτα + μαρτυρω

9. τούτους *pro* του βιβλιου τουτου

14. + ου μη *ante* εισελθωσιν

17. + της *ante* ζωης

19. τον λογον *pro* απο των λογων. New thus with 72 but not an unlikely reading. *Prim* omits altogether. Possibly another faint place.

20. + ο θεος *post* λεγει

21. ημων *pro* υμων

7. *Conclusions.*

We can now approach the crux of the problem, which we have reserved to the last, for the opening verse of chapter I. is quite unique and different from the common texts, including all our uncials and the versions.

After the inscription proper, which runs as follows:

ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγιου ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου κ̣

ἐναγγελιστοῦ τοῦ θεολόγου· ἣν ἔδωκεν ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ' ϗε ἐγλδ'

the MS. has Αποκαλυψις ιῡ χῡ της γεναμενης εις εμε ιωαννην τον αποστολον (eliminating completely ην εδωκεν αυτω ο θεος τοις δουλοις αυτου α δει γενεσθαι εν ταχει και εσημανεν αποστειλας δια του αγγελου αυτου τω δουλω αυτου ιωαννη), and continues verse 2: του κηρυξαι (substitute for ος εμαρτυρησε) τον λογον του θεου και την μαρτυριαν ιῡ χῡ οσα ιδων · Μακαριος ει κ.τ.λ. . . . . with the ordinary text.

[Note that *Methodius'* third century quotation omits ο θεος and α δει γενεσθαι.]

But for the previous studied exhibition of the *very old text* which

underlies 143, we might pass this over as some mediæval play of change for change' sake. But it cannot be. Are we in presence of a text underlying all? Of a first or early draft?

It has often been remarked, and Swete calls attention to it, that the closing chapter (XXII. 6, 14, 16) reproduces the wording of the opening verses of chapter I. But then I. 1, 2 might have been "accommodated" later to chapter XXII., which would explain the situation.

At any rate, we cannot dismiss this opening of 143 as beneath our notice, given the extremely ancient atmosphere which pervades the whole document. We have established :—

1. That 143 reproduces two readings so far absolutely particular to ℵ (IV. 4, XXI. 14).
2. It reproduces a form only used by A (XXII. 2) and another by CA (II. 1).
3. It agrees in a peculiar case with ℵ C only.
4. It has unique agreement with *Syr* S.
5. It has constant and deep sympathy with the text of *Prim.* (*e.g.* alone at II. 16).
6. It is well acquainted with some of the base of *gig*.
7. It has large sympathy with some of our most important cursives as 56, 114, 36, 40, 18, 95, 127.
8. It agrees alone with the small group ℵCAP 56 *Oec*, ℵCAP 38 *Syr gig Prim. Oec*, a very formidable conjunction for early forms.
9. It agrees alone with *Hippol.* (XXI. 8) and with *Prim*. (II. 16).
10. It has some special agreement with *sah* where extant together.

I do not emphasize the special agreement with *boh*, because I am in entire disagreement with Guidi and Burkitt as to the date of the bohairic version. But the conjunction of third and fourth century readings in our MS., coupled with the certainty that it was copied from a bilingual græco-coptic MS., does not help their case at all for a late date of the bohairic version.

We are therefore compelled to ask the question as to whether in the dim past, a standardized version of the opening verse of the book was substituted for the original, and whether that original may be

represented in whole or in part by our version, which, immediately after this opening, runs with the ordinary fourth century traditions.

We are forced to ask this question most seriously, because throughout our eight chapters available for comparison (and how much more would there be if all were extant in the MS. 143) a steady stream of the most ancient readings is present, together with unfailing indications of the faint spots in an original, which stands at the source not only of ℵ but of other important documents such as *Syr* S. In fact, it begins to appear as if we were on the footprints of the precious papyrus document of the Apocalypse which was extant for the whole world at one time in but one exemplar, far back of ℵ.

We have touched on these "faint spots" already, as being the source of trouble and perplexity to the forerunners of ℵ.

The famous passage at xxii. 14 is another case in point. The ordinary text runs: μακαριοι οι ποιουντες τας εντολας αυτου, whereas these important documents: ℵA 38, 127, 143, 7-45, 104, 146 *sah aeth Fulg Oec and Haymo*, read: μακαριοι οι πλυνοντες (πλυναντες, 7, 45, 104, 143) τας στολας αυτων, and that valuable check-MS. for ancient traditions, 56, *conflates the two readings*.

The source of this variation is doubtless due to the difficulty of reading the original.

We will close by touching on another point, not yet referred to, which enables us to go to very high antiquity for light on the subject.

Probably on the same page of the old archetype occurred XXII. 11. In this verse, with its present fourfold clause:

1. ὁ αδικων αδικησατω ετι,
2. ὁ ρυπων ρυπωσατω ετι,
3. ὁ δικαιος δικαιωθητω ετι (or δικ. δικαιοσυνην ποιησατω ετι),
4. ὁ αγιος αγιασθητω ετι,

there are several variations as to the form of No. 2, ℵ reading (with 18 and 32) ο ρυπαρος ρυπανθητω ετι, while others have ο ρυπαρος ρυπαρευθητω ετι, but the fourfold clause is made into a *threefold* one by A 34, 35, 65, 67, 68, 97, 121, 122, *who omit* No. 2 *entirely*. THEY ARE NOW JOINED BY 143.

In order to check this, we go as far back as we can into the records of antiquity, and we find the passage extant and quoted in the letter of the Churches of Vienna and Lyons, concerning the martyr-

dom of Pothinus and others, in the beginning of the last quarter of the second century.

There it takes the form of : "*ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ : ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι,*" and nothing is said of a "filthy" or "sordid" one, *ῥυπῶν* or *ῥυπαρός*, but of a "lawless" one.

I take it that in this passage also the basic document was faint, and *ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι* may be the true reading, and the full clauses be :—

1. *ὁ αδικων αδικησατω ετι,*
2. *ὁ ανομος ανομησατω ετι,*
3. *ὁ δικαιος δικαιωθητω ετι,*
4. *ὁ αγιος αγιασθητω ετι.*

At any rate, 143, with A and others, had difficulty, and cut out the second clause altogether.

As a matter of fact, our textus receptus ought to read only *two* clauses (as Vienna and Lyons), because Apoc. 1, upon which it was founded, reads only :—

1. *ὁ αδικων αδικησατω ετι,*
2. *και ο αγιος αγιασθητω ετι,*

Erasmus having retranslated and being responsible for *ὁ ρυπων ρυπωσατω ετι.*

A few other cursives (59, 104, 120, 153) make this a *threefold* clause, *by omitting* *και ο δικαιος δικαιωθητω ετι* in the third place, and two of them (104 and 153) adjust the matter by previously changing *ἀδικησάτω* to *δικησάτω*, thus :—

ὁ ἀδικῶν δικησάτω ἔτι
καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι
καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι.

So much for this passage at the present time.

. . . . . .

Whence, I wonder, did the old monk Leontius draw this long excerpt, including the special inscription ? It would be interesting to find another copy. Meanwhile, we must pass on to consider other MSS. in our next article.

This MS. 143 has been used by Charles (Crit. and Exeg. Com.

on the Rev. of St. John, 1920), who is the first one to give *some* of its readings, but my readers will see from the foregoing that nobody has so far realised its full importance in these studies.

Postscript.

Since writing the above article, photographs of a document have reached me from Greece, which are of the highest importance in these studies. They are photographs of a bicolumnar codex of the eleventh century, which was written by a very careful scribe. For instance, every single breathing is perfectly square from beginning to end of the Apocalypse. Never a lapse anywhere to a rounded form. And the breathings are wonderfully accurate. But one rough breathing for a smooth one throughout. Let the reader try and accomplish this feat for only three or four consecutive verses! I mention this merely in passing.

At once the scribe of 200 is justified as to his reading of στόματος for θρόνου in XXII. 1, which so far was only found in 92 and 200, for our new MS. adopts this reading without question, although not of the 200 type elsewhere.

The MS. falls into none of our known classes, yet has many elements of them all, or rather of the rarer family types. As showing basic age, it connects alone with the Sinaitic (ℵ) and the Alexandrine (A) many times. But it does the same with Gwynn's Crawford Syriac, and with the Aethiopic version, and also with some of the MSS. of the Armenian. Again, we will find it alone with *Gigas* and often with *Primasius*, although sometimes with slight differences pointing to a common earlier Greek foundation base.

We are often alone with the very eclectic MS. 36, and others of that sort, and there is a polyglot element, partly near-basic no doubt, but also of a later date, as I will now try and illustrate.

Gwynn has probably established to the satisfaction of scholars that *Syr* S is an older type than the three or four MSS. extant of *Syr* Σ. Now, while we are often with *Syr* S alone, or in small and weighty combinations, we have found a peculiar case where we are able to exhibit a long lost Greek reading, which appears only in Syriac dress in Σ, unless it is an integral part of *Syr* Σ as an independent, but then this would offer proof of Greek retranslation from Syriac at a certain indeterminate date, which my critics usually combine to disallow completely for *any* date!

I will now place them on the horns of a dilemma, and invite their attention to the following :—

Whereas Schaaf, in his edition of the Syriac N.T., translates the Syriac words ܐܝܟ ܕܢܗܝܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ in XXI. 11 by "tanquam lucem *splendidam*," a reference to Walton's Polyglot gives us "tanquam splendorem RADII. This must represent in Greek :—

ὡς φωστὴρ αὐγῆς, instead of
(καὶ ὁ) φωστὴρ αὐτῆς read by all MSS.

Now turn to Gwynn, page 44 note :—

"11. καὶ ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς. So some MSS. and *pr.* and most versions, but the MSS. and most MSS. (versions ?) omit καὶ as also *g* and *vg* [*am*, *arm*, *etc.* not *cl*] and Σ (which, however, reads these words differently from all else : αὐγῆς for αὐτῆς).

Remains to find this reading in a Greek document of any importance. And, behold, we produce it in the present MS. under discussion, the photographs of which we now have in our hands.

The reading is there quite certainly. And there is no chance about it, for *other* things link it up indubitably to the text underlying *Syr* Σ, or force on us accommodation to the Syriac text *of Syr* Σ.

Observe, then, at XVIII. 7, that we substitute καταστηνιάσαι for καὶ ἐστρηνίασε quite alone among Greek documents, but this is duly presented in the Latin translation of *Syr* Σ as *lascivire* against the 'et in deliciis fuit,' or 'et deliciarum habuit' or 'et delicias exercuit.' *In the same verse*, the word βασανισμόν is missing, owing to a lower corner of the page of the MS. being cut away, but the first three letters remain, and they are not βασ but ἀφα. . . . The problem is to find the right word. We could not do it alone without the help of *Syr* Σ, for it might be :—

ἀφάνισμον, 'disappearance by destruction,'
or ἀφασίαν, 'dumbness,'
or ἀφαυρότην, 'weakness,'
or ἀφάνειαν, 'ruin by obscurity,'
or ἀφάρωτον, 'nakedness' (absence of cloak),
or even ἀφαίμιξιν, 'blood-letting.'

How shall we decide ? Turn to Schaaf's Syriac N.T. and you

find ܠܡܥܒܕ, but the Latin text is the usual one, "*cruciatum.*" Walton's translator, however, comes to the rescue and correctly informs us that the meaning is

"*vastationem,*"

in other words, nothing else but *ἀφάνισμον* in Greek. So we restore the text with confidence, and add this to our collection of unique Greek readings supported by *Syr.*

It is impossible, in recording such matters, to give full force to the striking character of the evidence, because a complete collation and comparison with other documents can alone impress upon the student the intensely interesting character of the problems involved, and of their solution.

Gwynn forecast the reading of *αὐγῆς* and is on record to this effect, but no one has happened to forecast *ἀφάνισμον* as far as I am aware. Ἀφάνισμον, in the setting of Apoc. XVIII. 7, is far stronger than *βασανισμόν*, although our scribe perpetuates

βασανισμόν in verse 10, and
βασανισμοῦ in verse 15, just as the Syriac there uses

the other word ܥܘܕ :

And what a flood of light *αὐγῆς* throws on the grand passage in XXI. 11 :—

φωστηρ αὐγῆς ὅμοιος λίθῳ τιμιωτατῳ,
ὡς λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι.
The gleaming of her *rays !*

I have no space to deal with this MS. fully here, which must be written up at greater length when we go to press with the body of our collations.

The word *αὐγή* occurs but once in the N.T., at Act XX. 11 : until 'break of day,' meaning until the first rays of the sun cast their light or beams, and *αὐγάζω* once at 2 Cor. IV. 4 : 'shine,' and *διαυγάζω* once 2 Pet. I. 19 : 'dawn.'

It is related in origin to our word *eighe*, eye (pl. *eyen*), through Gothic *augo*[1] and German *auge*, Icelandic *auga*, Swedish *öga*, Sanskrit *aksha* (Latin originally *ocus*, now *oculus*. Hence Russian *oko*).

[1] "Window" in Gothic is *auga-dauro* : 'eye-door' !

Αυγή is very freely used by all the Greek poets in many interesting connections, thus :—

Aeschylus : *βίου δύντος αὐγαί*, "life's setting sun."
or *πυρὸς αὐγή*, and *βροντὰς αὐγαί*.

It is a "sheen," as translated in the Apocalyptic passage by Conybeare for his Armenian MSS., and as applied to gold—Pindar : *χρυσὸς αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν*.

It is not the eye proper, but the *quality* of the eye—its rays ; thus Sophocles : *ὀμμάτων αὐγαί* the "rays," the "shining" *of* the eyes ; or of the soul ; Plato : *ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐγή*, and then gradually of the eyes alone—*αὐγαί*, like the latin *lumina*.

Probably the basic reading included both *αὐγῆς* and *αὐτῆς* and was :—

"*ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ*
ὡς (so our MS.) *φωστὴρ αὐγῆς αὐτῆς . . .* "
"Having the glory of God as the Light-source of her radiance," that is : the origin and source of her *rays*.

Somebody may have cancelled *αὐτῆς* in one copy, and someone *αὐγῆς* in another. As regards 'her' radiance, the missing *τῆς* before *αὐγῆς* (if we read *τῆς αὐγῆς αὐτῆς*) can be found by reading *φῶς τῆς* for *φωστηρ*. In fact our MS. may have *φωσ* as it is rather indistinct at the end of a line.

We have here probably the antithesis of conflation, a veritable *de*-conflation.

If the Syriac did not get it from an original Greek, the only other explanation would be that our Greek MS. retranslated from a late Syriac, which had mistaken *αὐτῆς* for *αὐγῆς*, which is not likely.

There are other curious passages like XXII. 2, where we read *ἐκ μέσου* for *ἐν μεσῳ*, with 92. This, coupled with *στόματος* for *θρόνου* in the previous verse (also with 92), shows affiliation of *source*, and no error. Now the Syriac here lends itself better to *ἐκ* than to *ἐν*.

Again, at XX. 6, we add *αὐτοῦ* after *χριστοῦ* quite alone among Greek MSS., after the Syriac manner, and *with* the Syriac alone (and Fulgentius).

At XIX. 16 we have the plural *ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα* (*−το*) with the later Syriac, and elsewhere *σαλπιγγῶν* for *τῆς σαλπίγγος*

with Syr S. and Σ, but thereagainst note at XVI. 7 the *singular* (against plural *of all others*)—

"ἀληθίνη καὶ δικαία ἡ κρίσις σου"

with *Syr* Σ (trace remains in the Greek uncials with κρισις), which points in the other direction. While λεόντων in XIII. 2 is countenanced by ℵ 14-92 Victorin, as well as *Syr*. We have a novelty among Greek MSS. twice over of τῶν ἰσραηλιτῶν for τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσράηλ, VII. 4 and XXI. 12. In the first case agreed to by *Syr* Σ.

As regards the age of these things, compare III. 5 ἔμπροσθεν for ἐνώπιον (*prim.*) alone with ℵ, and III. 8 + και before ἰδου alone with *Syr* S, Σ.

Finally, note the double base of *Syr* S and Σ coming in at XIV. 15, where we omit the clause ὅτι ἐξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς with *both of them*, and *with them alone*.

And as regards the "true" reading in XV. 3 *fin.*

"The King of the *Ages*,"

as against the two variations supported by most, *viz.* :—

τῶν ἁγίων or τῶν ἐθνῶν

note that we hold "ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων" with ℵ* C 18, 56, 95, 127, 159 *Syr* S and Σ, some*latt* and *vg.*, the Greek cursives being among the most important of our documents, (*arm* with 112 Gr. [against its family] conflates αἰώνων and ἐθνῶν, *amiatinus* = caelorum).

H. C. HOSKIER.

[In Souter's notes to his edition of the Greek Testament, he gives 94 and 2040 as the cursives supporting τῶν αἰώνων. 94 is an error for 95. Scrivener quotes his *g*, not *b*, for this. And Gregory's number of 2040 is none other than 95! Thus does the use of complicated and changing numeration affect the correct setting forth of evidence. It would have been better to quote '94, 95,' and then the student could more readily have detected the error. Souter leaves out 18 (an important MS.) which Tischendorf had mentioned, and which certainly reads thus. On the other hand, in von Soden's notes, while quoting his 1682 (= our 112 and Gregory's old 182) for the conflation of *arm* (although this Greek MS. is very late and differs here from its elder brothers' reading of τῶν ἐθνῶν), he quotes his I^a 22 and 503 for τῶν αἰώνων. His 503 is our 159, and 22 is probably his Av^{22} or Athos

Stawron 48, which I have not yet collated. Soden's system in the Apoc. is very annoying for he has two similar numbers in several cases; thus 31 occurs twice; it can be either Av^{31} or Oec^{31}. The same applies to his numbers 10 and 11, to his 51, 52, 53, to his 400 and to his 501. He did not use our 56, one of the most important of the MSS., nor our 127.

(*To be continued. Article* 4 *will deal with Apoc.* 130 *first used by Dr. Swete.*)

Correction of Misprints in Article 2.

Page 258: read ~~σου~~ *sic* instead of *ita*.

On p. 266, line 4, last word, ταῦτσα is an impossible word due to inversion by compositor. It should be ταῦτασ.

Same page last line but 5 $\epsilon^{\iota}\sigma$. Iota has dropped out, should be $\epsilon\overset{\iota}{\iota}\sigma$.

H. C. HOSKIER.

HAND-LISTS OF CHARTERS AND DEEDS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ès Lettres.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

I.

THE BEAUMONT CHARTERS.

THE following charters are part of the collection formed by the Abbé de la Rue, a well-known Norman scholar.[1] It is perhaps better for the reputation of this learned man that we should not inquire how he became the owner of all these charters. He lived in the days when love of scholarship was great enough to obliterate the sense of property.

We are unable to say at what date they came into the hands of Thomas Stapleton, the editor of the *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, the young brother of the 8th Baron Beaumont, to whom they were very likely bequeathed at Thomas Stapleton's death.

They were for some time at Carlton Towers, Co. York, the family seat of the Beaumonts, where they were examined in 1881 by a French scholar M. Léon Maitre, who made a transcript of a certain number of the charters and summarised the others. This transcript is to-day preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where it bears the No. 1428 in the *Fonds Latin: Nouvelles Acquisitions*, being one of the manuscripts presented to the library by the Duke of La Tremoïlle.[2]

The collection was sold by auction in London, on the 22d of

[1] See *Biographie Universelle*, supplément, t. LXX., pp. 309-12.

[2] *Cf.* L. Delisle, *Catalogue des Manuscrits du Fonds de la Tremoïlle*, Paris, 1889, in 8, pp. 19-24.

October, 1920, when a considerable part of it was bought by the John Rylands Library.

We give, hereafter, a table showing the concordance between the numeration in the hand of Abbé de la Rue, and the new numeration which has been given to the collection in the John Rylands Library.

S.	R.	S.	R.	S.	R.	S.	R.	S.	R.	S.	R.
13	52	66	1	101	20	123	99	156	48	180	110
27	53	67	2	102	21	124	100	157	49	181	111
28	54	68	3	103	22	131	101	158	50	182	112
30	55	69	4	104	23	132	102	159	107	183	113
31	56	70	5	105	24	133	103	160	108	186	71
32	57	71	6	106	25	134	104	161	38	187	72
33	58	72		107	26	135	105	162	39	188	90
—	—	73	7	108	27	136	106	163	40	189	93
34	59	74	8	109	28	137	79	164	41	190	95
no n°.	60	75	9	110	29	138	80	165	73	191	92
no n°.	61	76	10	111	30	139	81	166	74	194	94
47	62	86	11	112	31	147	82	167	75	196	96
48	63	87	12	113	32	148	83	168	76	198	91
59	64	89	13	114	33	149	84	169	77	—	—
60	65	90	14	115	34	150	42	170	78	—	—
61	66	91	15	116	35	151	43	171	86	—	—
62	67	92	16	117	36	152	44	172	87	—	—
63	68	93	17	118	37	153	45	177	88	—	—
64	69	99	18	120	97	154	46	178	89	—	—
65	70	100	19	121	98	155	47	179	109	—	—

I.

ARDENNE (Calvados. Con Caen. Cne Saint-Germain-de-la-Blanche-Herbe). ABBAYE DE NOTRE DAME. Ord. Praem. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48419] 1 [66].—Charter of John Count of Mortain to all his officers in Normandy. For the weal of the soul of his father, King Henry, and that of his brother, and those of all his predecessors, he gives to the Abbey freedom to buy and sell, quit [of toll], in the chastelleny of Evrecy (Calvados. Con Caen.). Witn. Roger de Mandeville "*dapifero meo apud Lere.*" (1189-1199.)

[R. 48419] 2 [67].—Henri, son of Henri Fitz-Herbert grants to the Abbey some rents in Caen. Witn. Samson, Abbot of Caen (St. Etienne), Renard "*Bonits*," a priest, Guillaume Poignart, "*tunc vicecomite*

Cadomi," Guillaume Sachespée, Raoul de Trois-Monts, Odon, canon of Ardenne. (1197-1214.)

[R. 48419] 3 [68].—Jean Poignart agrees to the grant made by his mother Aelina to the Abbey of a piece of land "*juxta Capellam sancti Thome*" and another "*que sita est supra chiminum de Lu*" (Luc s/mer ?) n.d. (xiiith cent.).

[R. 48419] 4 [69].—Geoffrey de Repton renounces all claims he may have made to the houses and the oven, the property of the Abbey in Caen, rue Ecuyère, for the sum of 40 pounds (in Angevin money) and the prayers of the monks. Geoffrey de Repton is acting with the consent of Aelis his wife, and Gilbert, his son-in-law. (1202.)

[R. 48420] 5 [70].—Jean de Louviers grants to the Abbey the tithe of all the rents and all the regards paid to him in Louvigny (Calvados. C^{on} Caen.). Witn. Robert, Abbot of Ardenne, Odon, a canon, Maitre Richard du Pert, precentor of Lisieux, Raoul de Saint Martin, Honfroy de Saint Laud, Robin de Roselle, Henry Briton. (1198-1206.)

[R. 48420] 6 [71-72].—Richard Fitz Henri confirms the grant made by Aelis de Thaon, the widow of his brother Henri, and afterwards of Raoul de Thaon, to the Abbey, of the lands she received as dowry from the said Henri, her first husband, in Venoix (Calvados. C^{on} Caen.). On another piece of vellum: "*Isti interfuerunt elemosine Richardi filii Henrici: Walterus de Agnellis, Gillebertus Le Sesne, Ricardus de Agnellis, milites, Willelmus filius Alani . . . de tribus Montibus, Willelmus de Magnevilla, Ricardus Corbin, Laurentius Repin, Raginaldus de Novilla, clericus, Thomas de Sancto Lando, Stephanus Blancmouton, Goscelinus de Buron, Wichart, Tustinus de Mesvilla, Ranulphus de Babevilla, . . . de sancto Georgio, Rolinus de Brai, nepos Nicholai abbatis, Robertus filius Durandi de Cusseio. Et hoc concosserunt* (sic) *Henricus . . . et Radulphus etiam prior de Plesseiz et Thomas canonicus ejus, Magister Ranulphus de Aetreio, hoc audierunt . . . cartam sigillatam non viderunt. Et hoc fuit de terra de dote Aaliz de Thaon.*" (ca. 1190.)

[R. 48420] 7 [73].—Henri Fitz Herbert, Aelis his wife and their sons grant to the Abbey the tithe of their fee in Venoix and Franqueville (Calvados. C^{on} Caen. C^{on} Authie), and two fields. The abbot and monks are to celebrate mass daily for the weal of the grantor's soul. n.d. Witn. "*Guillelmus diaconus de Girone et Guillelmus de Abbenese et Rogerus nepos suus, et Adam de Francavilla et Thomas filius suus et Vasal prepositus suus de sancto Germano et Serlo filius suus.* (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48420] 8 [74].—Exchange of lands in Anfreville (Calvados. Cᵒⁿ Troarn) between Gauthier and Henri d'Aigneaux. n.d. Witn. Godefroy de Beuville, Nicolas de Haie, Pierre de Lamberville, Raoul du Plessis, Pierre du Fresne, Guillaume de Tracy. (Late xiiᵗʰ cent.)

[R. 48420] 9 [75].—An agreement between Gauthier d'Aigneaux and his brother Thomas d'Aigneaux relating to their lands in Saint Contest (Calvados. Cᵒⁿ Caen.). "*Hoc fuit factum apud Cadomum ad scaccarium in tempore quo Willelmus filius Radulphi erat senescallus Normannie.*" (1170-1198.)

[R. 48420] 10 [76]. — Gauthier d'Aigneaux grants to the Abbeys of Notre Dame d'Ardenne and Notre Dame de Longues the piece of land in Saint Contest left to them in his brother's (Henri d'Aigneaux) will. n.d. (early xiiiᵗʰ c.).

[R. 48421] 11 [86].—For the weal of his soul and that of his brother Roger, Thomas de Cornières grants to the Abbey all the lands and rights which were accorded to it by the said Henri in Coulombs (Calvados. Cᵒⁿ Creully). n.d. (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48421] 12 [87].—Guillaume de Cornieres confirms to the Abbey the patronage of the churches of Saint Contest in Athis (Calvados. Cᵒⁿ Caen. Cⁿ Louvigny) and of Saint Vigor in Coulombs, granted to it by his predecessors. (July 19, 1264.)

[R. 48421] 13 [89].—Henri, Bishop of Bayeux, grants to the Abbey the church of Coulombs of which Guillaume "*de Humeto*" and Roger de Cornieres are patrons. After the death, or the resignation, of the parson Roger . . . and his curate [*vicarius*] Alexander, the Abbey will have the right to give the living to one of its own canons. "*Actum est apud Baiocum anno ab Incarnatione Domini MºCºXCº nono. His presentibus: Bernardo, abbate de Valle, Henrico, precentore, Rogero Bovet, cancellario, Henrico et Willelmo, archidiaconis, Roberto de Parfouru, capellano Baiocensi, Roberto de Feugerollis et pluribus aliis.*" (1199.)

[R. 48421] 14 [90]. A judgment given in the assize of Caen by Samson, abbot of Saint-Etienne de Caen, Pierre "*de Tellis*," Raoul Labbé and Guillaume de Cellerier, for Nicolas, abbot, and the Abbey of Notre Dame d'Ardenne, against Guillaume Belet concerning the patronage of the Church of Saint Vigor in Coulombs. Both parties have produced charters establishing their rights; the Abbey a charter of Halenas de Sisrewast and Guillaume, constable of Normandy and another of Thomas and Roger de Cornières; Guillaume Belet, a charter of Halenas de Sisrewast "*antiquiorem.*" The Church is given to the Abbey which pays to Guillaume Belet 50 lib. tur. (December 17th, 1207.)

[R. 48421] 15 [91].—Robert Bordel, of Coulombs, grants to the Abbey a piece of land in Coulombs. (1227.)

[R. 48421] 16 [92].—Before the King's Assize in Caen, Raoul de Percy knt., and Nicole, his wife, confess that the patronage of the Church of Saint Vigor in Coulombs is the property of the Abbey. The Abbey gives to the said Raoul 25 lib. tur. which his heirs are to give back to the monastery if, after the said Raoul's death, his wife raise any claim to the said patronage. (May 11, 1227.)

[R. 48421] 17 [93].—Nicolas de Combray, knt., quits Robert de Pont of the various rights "*moutam siccam et aquariam*" which he claimed from him for the half of his "fief de haubert" in Maiset (Calvados, Con Evrecy) and quits for ever of the said rights Richard de Pont, son of the said Robert, and his heirs, but only for the half of the half of the said "fief de haubert." (1260.)

[R. 48422] 18 [99].—Guillaume de Hermanville and his wife Lucie grant to the Abbey, for the weal of their souls and that of Aceline, their daughter, and for an anniversary celebration of her death, a rent of 20 sol. tur. on their oven in Ducy-Sainte-Marguerite (Calvados, Con Tilly-sur-Seulles) and a piece of land in the same place. (Aug. 8, 1308.)

[R. 48422] 19 [100].—Richard de Periers grants to the Abbey, for the weal of his soul and that of his father, mother, and predecessors, a piece of land in Periers (Calvados, Con Douvres). n.d. Witn. Robert and Philippe, "*presbiteris de Periers*," Roger Corbin, a clerk, Godefroy, my [Richard de Perier's] nephew. n.d. (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48422] 20 [101].—Sale by Alain, the son of Guillaume the son of Honfroy, to Master Guillaume de Villon of a piece of land in Villon-les-Buissons (Calvados, Con Creully). "*Hanc autem venditionem et concessionem firmiter tenendam et observandam, tactis sacrosanctis ewangeliis, juramus ego Alanus et P. uxor et L. mater mea, quae portionem dotalicii sui quam in predicta terra esse asserebat prefato W. libere et spontanea voluntate concessit.*" n.d. (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48422] 21 [102].—A XIVth cent. transcription of three deeds relating to lands in Beuville (Calvados, Con Douvres): (*a*) Grant by Godefroy de Beuville to the Abbey for the weal of his soul and that of his wife of a rent of six quarts of wheat. "*Actum est hoc apud Ardenam in die sepulture predicte uxoris mee, presentibus his: Roberto, abbate de Ardena, ejusdemque loci conventu, Petro de Cusseio, Ranulpho de Auteia, Ansquetillo le Quenceis, Dyonisio Depuis, presbyteris et pluribus aliis*" n.d. (1198-1206). (*b*) Simon de Bosville grants to

the Abbey a piece of land and confirms the grant of another piece made by his "*antecessor*." n.d. "*Testibus his: Radulpho parvo de Boevilla, clerico, Patricio de Colevilla, millite* (sic), *Silvestro de Colevilla, Silvestro Comerel, et pluribus aliis*" n.d. (ca. 1240). (*c*) Jean de Cavoie [or de Tavoie], knt., grant to the Abbey a rent of three mines of wheat to found the *obit* of his wife Jeanne. December, 1253.

[R. 48422] 22 [103].—Vidimus, dated February 7th, 1412, of a grant by Jean de Ver, knt., to the Abbey of a rent of 3 mines of wheat, Bayeux measure, to be taken from some land in the territory of Ver near La Goupillère-les-longs-fossés (Calvados, Con Evrecy). (June, 1245.)

[R. 48422] 23 [104].—Vidimus, dated January 10th, 1432, of the confirmation by Henri, Bishop of Bayeux of an agreement between Renaud, Abbot of Saint-Wandrille, and Robert, Abbot of Notre Dame d'Ardenne, relating to a wood in Livry (Calvados, Con Caumont). n.d. "*His presentibus: Henrico, Baiocense cantore, Rogero Bovet, cancellario nostro, Gregorio, clerico, Radulpho de Valle, canonico, et pluribus aliis.*" (1198-1205.)

[R. 48423] 24 [105].—Vidimus, dated April 14th, 1306, of three deeds relating to lands in Ténière-près Noyers and Noyers (Calvados, Con Villers-Bocage): (*a*) Grant by Richard Tesart, knt., with the consent of Roberge, his wife, and Raoul, his eldest son, to the Abbey of a tenement in Ténière, for a sum of 15 lib. tur. n.d. (ca. 1200.) (*b*) Confirmation of the latter grant by Guillaume de Noyers. n.d. (ca. 1200.) [The originals of these two deeds are preserved in the Archives du Calvados, H. 468]. (*c*) Hugues, the son of Raoul de Noyers grants a tenement in Noyers to the Abbey, for a sum of 56 sous, in Angevin money. n.d. "*Actum est hoc apud Ardenam, hiis presentibus: Roberto tunc abbate, ejusdem loci conventu, Thoma de Novavilla, Radulpho de Cadomo, molendinario, Radulpho de Noiers dicto Episcopo, Evulso de Groceio, Simone de Landa, Roberto de Toire, Tustino de Franchevile, Rosello de Broio, Gaufrido de Galamanchia, Willelmo de Marlum, Unfrido de Esperum et pluribus aliis.*" (1198-1206.)

[R. 48423] 25 [106].—Confirmation by Guillaume de Noyers, knt., of the grant made to the Abbey of some land in Noyers, by Gervais and Robert Gilbert de Landelles. (1235.)

[R. 48423] 26 [107].—Grant by Nicolas de Noyers, son of Guillaume de Noyers, knt., to the Abbey of a piece of land in Noyers. (1257.)

[R. 48423] 27 [108].—Confirmation by Raoul dit Martel, knt., of the

grant made by Gervais, Robert and Raoul dits Guillebertz, to the Abbey of a piece of land in Noyers. (Oct., 1308.) (Seal.)

[R. 48423] 28 [109].—Grant by Renaud Aeliz de Sourdeval to the Abbey of a piece of land in Noyers. (December, 1335.)

[R. 48423] 29 [110].—Grant by Gislain de la Pommeraye to the Abbey of various lands and rights in La Pommeraye, Le Jardin, Cossesseville, Le Bo, Le Buisson près Ouilly, Les Loges, etc. (Calvados, Con Thury-Harcourt). (1219.)

[R. 48423] 30 [111].—Grant by Robert Pasquier, of Canon, to the Abbey of a rent of 5 " setiers " of wine from his vineyard in Canon (Calvados, Con Mezidon). (1226.)

[R. 48423] 31 [112].—Grant by Robert de Bray, son of Gislain de Bray, to the Abbey, for the sum of 32 sol. tur., of a vineyard in Canon. (January, 1275.)

[R. 48424] 32 [113].—Godefroy Perer, parson *de Stratis* [Estrées-en-Auge or Estrées-la-Campagne (Calvados)] with the assent of his brothers Richard and Raoul, grants to the Abbey a vineyard " *in monte coquerel*" [Le Haut de Coquerel (near Angerville. Calvados, Con Dozulè.] (1212 or 1213.)

[R. 48424] 33 [114].—Confirmation of the latter by Richard Moreth, son of Guillaume Moreth. (1217.)

[R. 48424] 34 [115].—Confirmation of the same by Guillaume Moret, son of Richard Moret of Livet (one of the many hamlets of this name in Calvados). May 12th, 1241, " *qua die premissa omnia super altare beate Marie de Ardena juravi me de cetero fideliter observare, presente conventu ejusdem loci et pluribus aliis.*"

[R. 48424] 35 [116].—Master Martin de la Mare, Dean of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Caen, grants to the Abbey a piece of land in Cairon (Calvados, Con Creully) for the foundation of his anniversary. (1307.)

[R. 48424] 36 [117].—Confirmation of the same by Renaut le Chembellenc, knt., for the gift made to him by the Abbey of 4. ll. tur. and the obligation of the same to pay him an annual rent of 15 d. tur. " *En tesmoing de ceu je lor ai donné ceste lettre scelee de mon scel laquele je weil que les diz religieus facent lire et puepleer a oie de paroisse toute foiz qu'il voudront en men absence ou en ma presence. Ce fut fait l'an de grace M.CCC. et sept le lundi emprés reminiscere.*" (February 19, 1308.)

[R. 48424] 37 [118].—Acknowledgement of a rent in corn and poultry to be paid to the Abbey by Pierre Hamelin and his heirs for a piece of land in Bitot (near St. Germain de la Blanche Herbe, Calvados, Con Caen). (Sept. 16, 1300.)

AUNAY-SUR-ODON. (Calvados, Arrt. Vire.)
ABBAYE DE NOTRE DAME. Ord. Cist. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48430] 38 [161].—Guillaume de Semilly, knt., son of Guillaume de Semilly, grants to the Abbey some lands in Le Repentir (in Saint Georges d'Aunay, Calvados, Con Aunay s/Odon) in exchange for some other lands in the same place. (1236.) [Seal.]

[R. 48431] 39 [162].—Guillaume de Beuran, parson of Saint Germain, in Villers-Bocage (Calvados, Art Caen) acknowledges that he and his successors, have to pay to the Abbey a rent of ten quarters of oats, n.d. (XIIIth cent.).

[R. 48431] 40 [163].—A judgement of Thomas de Freauville, Bp. of Bayeux, in a suit before the official of the Bishop, between the Abbey and Roger Renard, parson of Cormolain (Calvados, Con Caumont) relating to the tithes of Cormolain. (July 8, 1236.)

[R. 48431] 41 [164].—An agreement between the Abbey and Jehan Crespin, Seigneur de Thury, made before Henri Le Gay, lieutenant of Robert Recuchon, "bailli" of Caen, concerning the market of Thury-Harcourt (Calvados, Arrt Falaise). The Abbey renounces the right of buying and selling free of toll, and the "Seigneur" of Thury agrees to pay them a rent of 40 sous. (Aug. 1st, 1319.)

BARBERY (Calvados, Con Bretteville s/Laize).
ABBAYE DE NOTRE DAME. Ord. Cist. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48429] 42 [150].—Vidimus dated July 15th, 1277, by Pierre, Bp. of Bayeux, of a vidimus dated Royaumont, January 1269, by Louis, King of France [Louis IX.], of the confirmation by King Henry II. of all the donations made to the Abbey. [King Henry II.'s charter is published from this vidimus by L. Delisle and E. Berger, *Recueil des Actes d'Henri II.*, t. II., Paris, 1920, 4o, pp. 166-167, No. DCCL., pp. 592-595.]

[R. 48429] 43 [151].—Robert Marmion, for the weal of his soul, that of his wife Philippa and his predecessors and successors, and for the absolution of his journey to Jerusalem, grants to the Abbey 500 pounds in Angevine money for the building of the church. He also grants some lands in Stoke and Chekenden (Co. Oxford) in exchange for a rent of £10 which he had assigned to the wardrobe of the Abbey on his manor of Berwick. He will also retain the services of William M . . . and Hugh de Migehan for their fees in Stoke and Chekenden, and the Abbey will pay to the monks of St. Thomas [of Acon, hospital in London ?] two pounds of wax. n.d. (late XIIth c.).

[R. 48429] 44 [152].—Grant by Robert Fitz Erneis to the Abbey of the land "de coqueio" which is near Cingal (Calvados, C^on Bretteville s/Laize, C^ne Moulines). n.d. "*Testibus his : Ranulfo de Capella, Radulpho de Sancto Hilario, Roberto de Izio, monachis, Radulpho de Achevilla, Michaele de Guisbertvilla, Guillelmo de Trossalvilla, Guillelmo Peluel, Bernardo filio Galini et multis aliis*" (late XII^th c.).

[R. 48429] 45 [153].—Grant by Robert Fitz Erneis to the Abbey of some bushes and lands near Barbery. n.d. (early XIII^th).

[R. 48429] 46 [154].—Confirmation by Pierre, Bishop of Bayeux, of the grants made to the Abbey by Robert Fitz Erneis and his father. (Douvres [Calvados, A^t Caen]. 1209.)

[R. 48430] 47 [155].—For the weal of his soul, that of his father, mother, wife "*Hele*," predecessors and successors, Robert Fitz Erneis grants to the Abbey, a rent of 20 s.t. on his market of Thury-Harcourt (Calvados, A^rt Falaise), 5 s.t. on his mill at the same place, and a piece of land near Barbery. (1210.)

[R. 48430] 48 [156].—For the sum of 15 ll. tur. Robert de Venois, knt., quits all claims he may have raised on various lands in Barbery and Bretteville-sur-Laize which were claimed by the Abbey. Made before the King's Assize in Falaise, Jean des Vignes being bailli (1232). On another piece of vellum fastened to this notice, we have, in a writing slightly more recent : "*Isti quorum nomina subnotata sunt presentes fuerunt in assisiam domini Regis apud Falesiam quando Robertus de Venocis dimisit in pace abbati et conventui de Barberio omnia que contra ipsos reclamabat in nemore et plano : Dominus Episcopus Sagiensis, Johannes de Vineis, Radulfus de Millones, Gaufridus Louvel, Johannes de Petrasita, Guillermus de Vallibus, Robertus filius Ricardi, Ricardus Abbas, Helias de Martinivilla, Guillelmus de Martinivilla, Robertus de Ravetonore, Robertus de Poteria, Rogerus de Ureceio, Radulphus de Sancto Andrea, Geslanus Escorchevelle, Radulfus Dodeman, Guillelmus Dodeman, Robertus de Aceio, Radulfus Malherbe, Guillelmus de Val des loges, Guillelmus de Cingal, Guillelmus de Molines, Guillelmus de Tribus Montibus, Jordanus Louvel, Johannes Louvel, Bertrannus de Fraxineta, Robertus de Pointel.*"

[R. 48430] 49 [157].—Vidimus dated July 15^th, 1277 [the same day as No. 42] by Pierre, Bishop of Bayeux, of the letters of Philippe III., King of France, dated St. Germain-en-Laye, August, 1275, for the protection of all the lands and rights of the Abbey.

[R. 48430] 50 [158].—Raoul dit Oresme receives in fee from the Abbey six pieces of land [in Barbery ?] (Nov. 30, 1315.)

CAEN (Calvados).

ABBAYE DE SAINT ETIENNE. O.S.B. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48414] 52 [13].—Confirmation by King Henry II. of the grant to the Abbey by Hugues Le Villain of a piece of land in Loucelles (Calvados, C^on^ Tilly-sur-Seulles). Ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, *op. cit.* N°. DLXXXII., pp. 166-167. (1172-1182, Valognes.)

[R. 48415] 53 [27].—Judgement of Hugo de Merville, Bp. of Coutances (Manche), Guillaume, precentor, and Guillaume de Saint Lo, canon of Coutances, appointed by Pope Innocent III. to examine a suit between the Abbey and the lepers of Cheux (Calvados, C^on^ Tilly-sur-Seulles). (1208-1216.)

[R. 48415] 54 [28].—Henry de Tillie grants to the Abbey some land in Fontaine near Thaon [Calvados, C^on^ de Creully] and confirms a grant made by Henri de Noyers to the Abbey in the same place. n.d. *Inde sunt testes Magister Willelmus Arondel, Willelmus Quarrel, Willelmus de Sauchei, milites, Willelmus Poignart vicecomes Cadomi, Dinan de Karon, Ricardus de Lu, Renardus Bladarius, Willelmus Hai, Hamelinus de Hamar, Gaufridus de Doubra, Luca Pincerna* (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48415] 55 [30].—The judgement of Robert de Mondreville before the Assize at Caen in a suit between the Abbey of St. Stephen of Caen and the Abbey of Saint Martin de Mondaye, relating to the tithes and the rights of justice in Chouain (Calvados, C^on^ Balleroy). (April 6, 1308.)

[R. 48416] 56 [31].—Alexandre, Abbot of Val-Richer, Robert, Abbot of St. André en Jouffern, and Nicolas, Abbot of Notre Dame d'Ardenne, arbitrators between Jeanne, Abbess of La-Sainte-Trinite-de-Caen, and Sanson, Abbot of St. Etienne of Caen, decide that the patronage of the Church of Vaucelles (Calvados, C^on^ Bayeux) shall be owned by the Abbey of St. Etienne, which, however, will pay a rent to the other monastery. (1210.) [Seal.]

[R 48416] 57 [32].—The agreement beween Sanson, Abbot of St. Stephen, and Jeanne, Abbess of La Trinité, on the same subject. n.d. (1210.)

[R. 48416] 58 [33].—Pierre dit Vidiou, a priest, grants to the Abbey various rents on some lands in Fontenay-le-Pesnel (Calvados, C^on^ Tilly-sur-Seulles) for the foundation of his anniversary. (July, 1290.)

[R. 48416] 59 [34].—Henri dit Pamaisnie grants to the Abbey some rents

on his manor in Caen, in the parish of Saint Sauveur, for the same purpose. (January, 1289.)

[R. 48436] 60 [no N°].—Copy of letters patents of King Henry VI. dated April 17, 1447, to his "Bailly" in Caen, for Guillaume de la Mouche, burgher of Caen, relating to certain mills on the river Orne, near the bridge of St. Peter, in Caen, the building of which the Abbot and monastery of St. Stephen oppose.

[R. 48436] 61 [no N°].—The Parlement of Caen (at the request of the Abbot and the Abbey of St. Stephen) forbids Demoiselle Anne de la Grand Rue and others to hold religious services of the Protestant Churches in the barony of Allemagne (Calvados, C^on^ Caen). May 24, 1591.

CAEN (Calvados).

ABBAYE DE LA SAINTE-TRINITÉ. O.S.B. [Women]. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48417] 62 [47].—Bull of Pope Nicholas III. to confirm all the privileges of the Abbey. *Nicolaus episcopus servus servorum Dei Dilectis in Christo filiabus . . . Abbatisse et conventui monasterii sancte Trinitatis de Cadorno, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Baiocensis diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum sicut ex parte vestra fuit propositum coram nobis vos et que in monasterio vestro vos precesserunt pro tempore quibusdam privilegiis et indulgenciis a predecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus monasterio vestro concessis, propter simplicitatem et juris ignorantiam use non fueritis temporibus retroactis. Nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati monasterii ejusdem, indempnitati precavere volentes utendi de cetero eisdem privilegiis et indulgentiis dummodo eis non sit per prescriptionem vel alias legitime derogatum, auctoritate vobis presentium concedimus facilitatem. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Viterbii X. kal. Septembris. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.* (Viterbo, Aug. 23, 1378.)

[Seal missing] on the fold: *Caly*, and . . . *XII^a^*.

On the back: *Ex parte Johannis de Sancto Michaelis littera renovans privilegia monasterii sancti Trinitatis de Cadomo.*

[This bull has not been registered.]

[R. 48417] 63 [48].—Benedict XIII. appoints the Abbot of St. Lo to

arbitrate between the Abbess and the Bishop of Bayeux in a dispute about the Church of Ouistreham (Calvados, Con Douvres).

Benedictus episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio, Abbati monasterii sancti Laudi Constanciensis diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sua nobis dilecte in Christo filie. . . . Abbatissa et conventus monasterii sancte Trinitatis de Cadomo, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Baiocensis diocesis, petitione monstrarunt quod licet jurisdictio spiritualis ac mixtum ac merum imperium in ecclesia parrochiali de Œstrehamio dicte diocesis ac ipsius parrochia ac in personas consistentes in dictis ecclesia et parrochia ad Abbatissam pro tempore existentem et conventum dicti monasterii ac Archidiaconum de Cadomo in ecclesia Baiocense qui est pro tempore de antiqua et approbata et hactenus pacifice observata consuetudine comuniter pertineant ; et tam eedem abbatissa et conventus ac ille que in dicto monasterio precesserunt easdem quam archidiaconus de Cadomo in eadem ecclesia qui nunc est et ejus predecessores qui fuerunt pro tempore, fuissent et tunc essent in possessione pacifica seu quasi exercii jurisdictionis ac meri et mixti imperii hujusmodi a tempore cujus contrarii memoria non existit, ac dudum cum inter Robertum Barbulee, minorem laicum et Ricardam filiam Mathei Potori laici dicte diocesis, inter quos sponsalia contracta fuerant, banna in dicta ecclesia cujus ipsa Ricarda parrochiana existebat ut est moris publicarentur, Radulphus Doguet, laicus dicte diocesis, asserens se priusquam dictus Robertus cum eadem Ricarda sponsalia contraxisse hujusmodi matrimonio contrahendo se opposuisset, ac Johannes de Noa, rector dicte parrochialis ecclesie, Matheo et Radulpho predictis ut coram. . . . Officiali Abbatisse et Conventus ac Archidiaconi predictorum super oppositione hujusmodi comparerent certam diem assignasset. . . . Officialis Baiocensis falso pretendens jurisdictionem in dictis ecclesia et parrochia et in personas consistentes in eis ad Episcopum Baiocensem pro tempore existentem pertinere ac dictum rectorem ex assignatione hujusmodi graviter deliquisse et in rectorem propterea ad solvendum emendam nuque (sic) *condempnavit ac sibi inhibuit ne de cetero tales assignationes faceret coram Officiali Abbatisse et conventus ac Archidiaconi predictorum sed coram ipso officiali Baiocense propter que pro parte dictarum Abbatisse et conventus rem suam agi conspicientium ac metuentium exinde sibi imposterum prejudicium generari in quantum eas tangebat quam primum premissa ad earum noticiam pervenerunt fuit ad Sedem Apostolicam appellatum, quo circa discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus vocatis que fuerunt evocandi et auditis huic inde propositis quod canonicum fuerit*

appellatione remota decernas faciens quod decreveris per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observari. Testes autem qui fuerunt nominati si se gratia odio vel timore subtraxerunt censura simili, appellatione cessante, compellas veritati testimonium perhibere. Datum Saone XVI kl. Junii Pontificatus nostri anno duodecimo. (Savona, May 17, 1406.)

[Seal missing. Fold cut.] On the back: ·: *Mundetur* B.G.

[R. 48418] 64 [59].—An agreement between Hugo de Giberville, knt. and the Abbey concerning the manor of Blainville (Calvados, C^on^ Douvres). (Aug., 1257.)

[R. 48418] 65 [60].—Grant by Robert dit l'Eveque, of Foulbec, to the Abbey of a rent on a land in Mondeville (Calvados, C^on^ Caen). (May, 1262.)

[R. 48418] 66 [61].—The Bailly of Caen gives back to the Abbess of La Trinité, a clerk, who was formerly in her jail at Ouistreham, admitting that the Abbey has the spiritual jurisdiction in this place. (1292.)

[R. 48418] 67 [62].—Vidimus, dated 1437, of a letter of the Abbess Marguerite de Thieuville, to the Lady Marie d'Esquay, a nun of the Abbey, ordering her to come back to the convent. (1437.)

[R. 48418] 68 [63].—Vidimus dated July 4, 1487, of a charter of Peter, Abbot of La-Croix-Saint-Leufroy, by which he admits his obligation to pay an annual rent of 40 s.p. to the Abbey of La Trinité for a piece of land near Gaillon (Eure, Arr^t^ Louviers). (1247.)

[R. 48419] 69 [64].—License to give her blessing granted to Laurence de Budos, Abbess of La Trinité, by Jean de Nouy, vicar-general of Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat, Bp. of Bayeux. (Dec. 11, 1602.)

[R. 48419] 70 [65].—Official report of the conveyance to the Abbess of the prebend of Le Cornet de Colleville (Colleville s/Orne, Calvados, C^on^ Douvres). (May 2, 1547.)

CONDÉ-SUR-IFS[1] (Calvados, C^on^ Bretteville-sur-Laize).

[R. 48435] 71 [186].—"*Karissimo domino suo Willelmo camerario de Tancarvilla militi et eius senescallis, Willelmus de Maigneio miles, salutem. Noveritis quod ego inquisivi utrum decima de Conde que vocatur parva decima est de feodo camerarii aut non. Quapropter*

[1] These two records come very likely from the Hospital of Saint-Jean of Falaise, where the press-mark on the back: "*Layette* 16^e^ *Liasse* I^ère^," was probably written. We know by one of King Henry II.'s charters [Delisle N^o^. 29] that this hospital was granted lands in Condé by the said Guillaume de Maigney.

notifico vobis quod inquisivi diligenter quod non est de feodo camerarii. Et hoc vobis et omnibus aliis per meas litteras pendentes significo valete. (ca. 1157.)

[R. 48435] 72 [187].—"*Karissimo domino suo Guillelmo camerario de Tanquarvilla militi, suisque senescallis, Robertus de Plancha, miles, salutem. Noveritis quod ego diligenter et fideliter cum domino Guillelmo de Maigneio, milite, inquisivi super decima de Condeio que vocatur parva decima utrum sit de feodo camerarii vel non. Tamen didisci et a pluribus fide dignis cognovi quod decima illa movet de feodo domini Ricardi de Corceio militis et adhuc permanet et quod dominus Guillelmus de Maigneio illud feodum tenet de domino Ricardo de Corceio, milite ; et dominus Robertus de Yz tenet illud feodum de dicto Guillelmo milite per homagium. Et hoc vobis et omnibus aliis per meam inquisitionem cum dicto Guillelmo milite legitime factam litterarum mearum pendentium testimonio significo valete.* (ca. 1157.)

FÉCAMP (seine Inferieure, Arr^{t} Le Havre).

ABBAYE DE LA TRINITÉ. O.S.B. Dioc. Rouen.

[R. 48431] 73 [165].—Achard the deacon "*Achardus Levita*" on becoming a monk in the Abbey of La Trinité grants to the same three "hospites" in Le Fresne (near Argences, Calvados, C^{on} Troarn.) n.d. (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48432] 74 [166].—Saffroy, son of Richard, son of Milon, parson of Argences, quits to the Abbey the Churches of Argences, viz.: the Church of St. Patrice, that of St. Jean with their chapels and appartenances. (April, 1208.)

[R. 48432] 75 [167].—Settlement of a dispute between the Dean and Chapter of Bayeux, and the Abbey touching some rents which the Dean and Chapter were claiming from houses in Argences, Mondeville, "Esmalemeivilla" and Ste Paix (near Caen). (1214.) [Seal.]

[R. 48432] 76 [168].—Samson, son of Helie d'Argences, quits to the Abbey all his rights as serjeant of the vineyards in Argences (of which he gives a complete list), for a gift of six acres of land in Argences granted to him by the Abbey. (June, 1231.)

[R. 48433] 77 [169].—Similar quitclaims by Hugues Robiket, holding the same office, for a grant of seven acres of land in Argences. (June, 1231.)

[R. 48433] 78 [170].—For the weal of their souls, for that of Mathieu, Count of Boulogne and Marie, his wife, that of Aubry, Count of

Dammartin, and Mathilde, his wife, the grantor's father and mother, Renaud, Count of Boulogne, Ida his wife, and Mathilde, their daughter, grant to the Abbey the free passage at Harfleur (seine Inferieure Con Montivilliers in the viscounty of Caux). n.d. "*Testibus Engerranno de Maisnilla, Radulpho de Dumno Martino, fratre meo, Radulpho de Claro Monte, Rogero Braibenchon, Denisio de Colevilla, Balduino de Assevilla, Hugone de Milevilla, Willelmo de Esmalevilla, Willelmo de Basevilla, Waltero de Bosevilla.*" (ca. 1200.)

FONTENAY-LE-TESSON. (Calvados, Con Bourguebus, Cne St. Andre-de-Fontenay).

ABBAYE DE SAINT ETIENNE. O.S.B. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48427] 79 [137].—Raoul Taisson confirms the grant made to the Abbey by Robert, Aelis and Guillaume, the children of Raoul de Vaux, of some rents and a piece of land in the fee of the said Raoul Taisson. n.d. "*Iis testibus: Rogero de Monte Acuto, Gaufrido de Combrai, Radulpho de Perci, Herberto de Vedois, Helia de Fontennes et multis aliis.*" (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48427] 80 [138].—Grant by Thomas Graverene of Curcy (Calvados, Con Evrecy) to the Abbot Richard[1] and the Abbey of his fee in Vaucelles (a suburb of Caen) for a sum of 20s. and an annual rent of 2s. 2d. (Angevin money). n.d. (XIIIth cent. early.)

[R. 48427] 81 [139].—Grant to the Abbey by Raoul de Merlay and Hadwise his wife, with the assent of their children, of the tithe of their mill "*des sorsiz in pago Baiocasino*" (Fosse-Soucy Calvados, Cne Maisons, Con Trevieres). n.d. *Testibus his: Johanne de Fontennes, Dionisio de Curlis, Henrico Sichard, presbiteris, Ricardo de Merlaio, Theobaldo Pantolfi, militibus, Alberico de Louvigniaco, Willelmo del Doit, Unfredo Anglo et multis aliis*" (early XIIIth).

[R. 48428] 82 [147].—A declaration by André, Abbot of Fontenay, that his Abbey has the right of presentation to the Church of Barbery only one time out of three, the Abbey of Barbery having that right twice. Accordingly, in the year 1283, the Church being vacant by the death of Guillaume Le Cornu, the Abbey of Fontenay presents Robert de Fécamp for this benefice. (Nov. 30, 1283.)

[R. 48428] 83 [148].—A declaration by the "Bailli" of Caen concerning the right of the Abbey to hold a vavassory in Sallenelles (Calvados, Con

[1] The *Gallia Christiana*, XI., 414-15, does not mention any Abbot of this name.

Troarn) given to this house by Madame Julienne de Saint Remy. (March, 1288.)

[R. 48428] 84 [149].—Grant to the Abbey by Raoul Espee, through Robert, Bp. of Bayeux, of a house, in Caen, in "via oxismensi" (now Rue St. Jean), which he bought from William Fitz Osmond. This grant is made for the weal of the soul of Erembourg, the deceased wife of the grantor. n.d. (1206-1231.)

GOUFFERN (Orne, Con Exmes, Cne Gilli-en-Gouffern).
ABBAYE DE SAINT ANDRÉ. Ord. Cist. Dioc. Seez.

[R. 48416] 85 [32].—Confirmation by Henri, Bp. of Bayeux of various grants made to the Abbey in Bretteville-le-Rabet and Le Rénémesnil (Calvados, Con Bretteville s/Laize). n.d. "*Testibus his: magistro Radulpho, archidiacono, Patricio, subdecano, Henrico Lecostor, Goscelino, clerico, Roberto de Bafoleth, canonico, Roberto de Vinaz, canonico, Johanne de Wibraio.*" (1190-1200.)

[R. 48430] 86 [171]. — Confirmation by Henry, Bp. of Bayeux, of various grants made to the Abbey, viz.: some land in Le Rénémesnil by Raoul de Guibertville and Raoul de Rénémesnil and by the canons of Plessis-Grimond, some vineyards in the territory of Airan (Calvados, Con Bourguébus) etc. granted by Raoul, the son of Raoul de Guibertville and Agnes, his wife. n.d. "*Inde sunt testes Robertus, abbas Fonteneti, Bernardus, abbas de Valle, Henricey et Hugo, archidiaconi Baiocenses, Rannulphus, cancellarius Episcopi, Rogerus Bovet, Joscelinus, clericus Episcopi et alii multi.*" (1185-1191.)

[R. 48433] 87 [172].—Grant by Raoul de Guibertville, son of Raoul de Guibertville of lands in Le Rénémesnil and Airan, and confirmation by the same of various other grants to the Abbey. n.d. "*Testibus his: Willelmo Lecras, Henrico de Pontello Maris, Radulpho Travers, Willelmo de Seiranz, Roberto de Vaece, Gisleberto, presbytero de Reneirmesnil, Willelmo de Plumetot.*" In the text is found the phrase: "*Anno quo rex Johannes coronatus fuit.*" (ca. 1199.) [Seal.]

[R. 48434] 88 [177].—Notice by Gautier, Abbot of Saint Jean de Falaise, of the grant made to the Abbey of St. André de Gouffern by Guillaume Plener of Falaise, and Havis, his wife, of four pieces of land, two "*ad moretanam*," one "*ad waleriam*," one "*ad crucem de salicibus*," for a sum of 48s. (Angevin money). n.d. *Testis est dominus Simon, Savinacensis abbas, et Robertus de Curcellis, Willelmus de Bona Area, Ricardus de Magnevilla, Engebaudus de Curcellis, Gislebertus Burellon, Robertus Berenger, Gaufridus Cepel, Robertus*

Rusticus, Hugo de Vivatio, Gislebertus de Ponte, Renaldus de Montgaro, Thomas Crispus et alii quamplurimi." (1179-1189.)

[R. 48434] 89 [178].—Grant by Richard dit Barate and his wife of rents and land in Airan (July 9, 1279).

[R. 48435] 90 [188].—Confirmation by Raoul de Couliboeuf, knt., of the tithe given to the Abbey by Robert de Saint Martin, in the said Raoul's fee of Couliboeuf (Calvados, Arr^{t} Falaise). (Nov. 1270.)

MARRIGE ABBEY (Co. York).

[R 48437] 91 [198].—"The rentall of Marrige Abbey maid by Dame Cristabell Cowper, priores of the same, for the fest of the Invencion of the Holy Crosse Anno Domini M^{o}CCCCC^{o}XXXV in the XXVIIth yere of Kyng Harry the VIIIth."

MONTEBOURG (Manche, Arr^{t} Valognes).
ABBAYE DE NOTRE DAME. O.S.B. Dioc. Coutances.

[R. 48435] 92 [191].—A modern copy (1839) of a grant by Richard de Reviers, Lord of Amfreville, dated Nov. 1279.

RENOUARD (LE) (Orne, C^{on} Vimoutiers).

[R. 48435] 93 [189].—Sale of a piece of land by Denis Lardant to Jeanne du Noyer. (Jan. 15, 1577).

SAINT-SAMSON-EN-AUGE (Calvados, C^{on} Troarn).
PRIEURÉ.

[R. 48436] 94 [194].—Exchange of lands in St. Samson between the Prior of Saint-Samson-en-Auge and Denis Hoguays. (April 9, 1457).

SAINT SAUVEUR-LE-VICOMTE (Manche, C^{on} Valognes).
ABBAYE DE SAINT SAUVEUR. O.S.B. Dioc. Coutances.

[R. 48435] 95 [190].—A modern copy (1839) of a grant by Guillaume de Reviers, son of Richard de Reviers (1289).

TORIGNY-SUR-VIRE (Manche, Arr^{t} St. Lo).

[R. 48436] 96 [196].—A judgement concerning a succession [almost defaced]. (May 7, 1588.)

TROARN (Calvados, Arr^{t} Caen).
ABBAYE DE SAINT MARTIN. O.S.B. Dioc. Bayeux.

[R. 48425] 97 [120].—Notification by Richard, Bp. of Avranches, of the restitution made to the Abbey by Alfred de Neuilly, when leaving for Jerusalem, of the tithe of Neuilly (Calvados, Con Isigny). n.d. "*teste capitullo nostro videlicet his personis: Rogero, cantore, Willelmo, thesaurario, Gilberto, archidiacono, Alano, canonico, Alexandro de Briceio (?) et pluribus aliis.*" (1171-1182 ?)

[R 48425] 98 [121].—Confirmation by Henri, Bp. of Bayeux, of the possessions of the Abbey, made at the request of the Abbot Gilbert. n.d. "*Testibus Jordano, archidiacono Salesberiensi, Gauterio, Baiocensi Archidiacono, Stephano, Archidiacono, Magistro Honfredo Bove, Magistro Rannulfo, Magistro Azone, Henrico, succentore, Willelmo, elemosinario, Willelmo Blondo, hostiario, Willelmo de Tancarvilla, cubiculario*" (ca. 1200).

[R. 48425] 99 [123].—Confirmation by Jean de Louviers, knt., of the grants made by his ancestors of the tithes of their possessions in Airan. (Calvados, Con Bourguébus). n.d. (XIIIe c.).

[R. 48425] 100 [124].—Vidimus dated Jan. 12, 1456 of a charter of Raoul de Guibertville, the son of Emma d'Airan, granting to the Abbey the patronage of the church of Airan. n.d. "*Hujus autem donationis sunt isti testes: Fulchredus de Gosbertivilla, Gislebertus de Ponceio, presbyteri, Hugo de Liveto, Hugo, filius Goscelini, Ricardus de Gosbertivilla, W. de Garsala, Milites, W., senescallus Matrias, Reinaldus, filius Goscelini, Richerus, nepos Roberti de Broc.*"

[R. 48426] 101 [131].—Vidimus dated May 17, 1458, of a charter of Philippe, Abbot of St. Martin de Troarn, settling a dispute between the lepers of St. Leonard de Troarn and the parson of Saint Gilles de Troarn. (1295.)

[R. 48426] 102 [132].—Copy of a charter of King Philippe V. of France granting to the Abbey the right of the waters at the bridges of Corbon (Calvados, Con Cambremer). Paris, Jan. 7, 1318.

[R. 48426] 103 [133].—An agreement between the Abbey of Troarn and Pierre Vidiou, parson of Authie (Calvados, Con Tilly-sur-Seulles) relating to the tithes of the said place, made on the 16th of November, 1288, before Guillaume dit Taillepie de Longueville, apostolic and imperial notary at Caen.

[R. 48426] 104 [134].—Grant by Alfred de Neuilly, knt., of the tithes of Neuilly. n.d. "*Testibus Alexandro, fratre meo, Alano, canonico Abrincense, Roberto, presbytero de Sanita Cruce, Willelmo, dapifero, Alexandro, pincerna et aliis.*" (ca. 1200.)

[R. 48427] 105 [135].—Vidimus dated Sept. 8, 1454, of a judgement of the Official of Bayeux in a dispute between the Abbey of Troarn and Nicholas de Rupierre, Esq., and Richard Hamon, his provost, touching

the tithes of Beneauville-la-Campagne and Chicheboville (Calvados, Con Bourguébus). Judgement is given for the Abbey, March 20th, 1317.

[R. 48427] 106 [136].—Copy of the notification made by Jean, bailli of Caen, to Pierre, Bp. of Bayeux, of the judgement given for the Abbey of Troarn in the matter of the patronage of Airan. (1278.)

VIGNATS (Calvados, Con Morteaux).

ABBAYE DE SAINTE MARGUERITE DE GOUFFERN, O.S.B. (Women). Dioc. Seez.

[R. 48430] 107 [159].—Notification by Foulques, Abbot of Le Val, Notre Dame (Calvados, Con Thury Harcourt, Cne St. Omer Abbey, O.S.B. Dioc. Bayeux), of the grant on perpetual lease to Thomas Bertin, the son of Jean Bertin, of Falaise, of the tithe of the mill "*de porta comitis de Falesia.*" (July, 1236.)

[R. 48430] 108 [160].—Grant by Thomas Bertin, the son of John Bertin, to the Abbey of Sainte Marguerite, of all his rights in the above mill. (Nov. 1240.)

[R. 48434] 109 [179].—Grant by Richard de Vendeuvre (Calvados, Con Morteaux-Couliboeuf) to the Abbey of 7 verges of land, viz.: 1 "*ad vadum Gueraume*," 3 "*ad viam de Argenies*," 3 "*ad viam Cadumi*," n.d. On a piece of vellum fastened to this grant "*Isti interfuerunt apud Falesiam assisa anno gratie M°CC°XV°, in Cathedra Sancti Petri, quando Dionisius de Coluncis et Hugo de Coluncis elemosinaverunt monialibus Sancte Margurite quicquid habebant apud Rœvillam et inde fecerunt cartas suas.*" A list of thirty-two names follows.

[R. 48434] 110 [180].—Grant by Sister Mathilde, prioress of Sainte Marguerite de Gouffern, to Guillaume dit Lesesne, of lands in the parish of Merri (Orne, Con Trun) for an annual rent of 4 s. tur. (February, 1287.)

[R. 48434] 111 [181].—Grant by Jean de Brucourt, knt., to the Abbey of the rent in corn which is paid to him for the mill of Venoix (Calvados, Con Caen). (1231.)

[R. 48434] 112 [182].—Confirmation by Maurice d'Ussy, knt., of the grant made by Guillaume Pikevot, the son of Mathieu de Saint Germain, to the Abbey, of the tithe of the parish of "Sicca villa in Oximino juxta Valedunas" (Secqueville-en-Hiemois). (1219.)

[R. 48434] 113 [183].—Jacques Camus, Bp. of Seez, transforms the priory of Sainte Marguerite des Vignats into an Abbey, at the request of the prioress Anne de Medavy (May 28, 1624.)

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